FREE THE 18!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. VIII—No. 30 | NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1944 | PRICE: FIVE CENTS

MICHIGAN CIO ARGUES NO-STRIKE ISSUE

Delegation To Ask Pardon For Imprisoned 18

Over 10,000 Signatures Obtained On Pardon Petitions to Be Presented to the President

A delegation of nationally-prominent labor and civil liberties leaders will go to Washington during the first week of August to present to the Presidential Pardon Authority the demand of close to 300 union and progressive organizations, representing nearly 2,000,000 members, for the unconditional pardon by President Roosevelt of the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders railroaded to prison under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

Included in the delegation will be James T. Farrell, noted author and Chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee; George Novack, CRDC National Secretary; George Baldanzi, Executive Vice President of the CIO Textile Workers Union of America; and a national representative of the CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees of America.

PRESENT DEMANDS

The delegation will present before the presidential pardon authorities hundreds of letters from leading representatives of labor, Negro, civil liberties and fraternal bodies and hundreds of trade union resolutions demanding the freedom of the 18 as well as many score editorials and articles expressing similar sentiments which have appeared in the liberal and labor press.

In addition, the delegation will formally turn over to the Washington authorities the nationwide petition which bears the signatures of almost 11,000 workers and defenders of civil rights urging Roosevelt to pardon the imprisoned revolutionary socialist labor leaders. The CRDC national office is requesting all local committees and collaborating unions to return to it not later than June 26 all outstanding petitions.

The rapidly growing sympathetic response to the CRDC campaign on behalf of the Minneapolis Labor Case victims has brought an increasing demand for literature explaining the issues

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Wallace Sees Vista of U.S. Domination In New Pacific Era

By James Cowan

Vice President Henry A. Wallace is a "New Deal" liberal who has been most useful to the Wall Street moneybags — even though they may not appreciate it — because of his ability to deceive the workers by giving an idealistic tint to the predatory appetites of American capitalism. This Wallace aptitude for camouflage has been in special demand during the present war, when these appetites are revealed in all their ugly reality.

Last week, the Vice President returned from a seven-week junket by airplane which took him to Soviet Asia and China. Upon landing in Seattle, Washington, he delivered a speech in which he laid out a grand vista of American imperialist expansion motivated by the most benevolent aims.

"I am convinced," he said, "that the main area of new development after this war — new enterprise, new investment, new trade, new accomplishments — will be in the new world of the North Pacific and East Asia . . . We are entering upon what might be called 'The era of the Pacific'."

Mr. Wallace was, of course, mainly interested in China, whose

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Political Crisis in Italy Heralds Fall Of Bonomi Cabinet

By Ralph Graham

Judging by present signs, the shadow Italian government of Bonomi, like the equally feeble Badoglio government before it, is dying of anemia and will not much longer occupy the political stage.

The rock on which it is likely to be wrecked is the armistice terms imposed on Italy by the Allied imperialists on September 3, 1943.

SECRET TERMS

For almost a year the full armistice terms have been kept hidden from the Italian people and from the rest of the world through a conspiracy between Roosevelt-Churchill and the Italian ruling class. Marshal Badoglio, Mussolini's butcher in Ethiopia, was the first Italian party to the conspiracy. He was cast out in June under pressure of the indignant Italian masses, just after the Allied capture of Rome. Bonomi took his place as Premier, but only after he had in turn accepted the armistice terms. But the terms themselves were still kept secret.

It is quite clear why they have not been published. They are so harsh and intolerable, so oppressive and rapacious, so sharply at variance with the allegedly lofty war aims of the Allied governments, that their publication would have caused a tremendous upheaval in Italy. So, in accord with the practice of secret diplomacy which the capitalist rulers always employ to conceal their dirty deals, the Italians were not permitted to know the terms on which Badoglio surrendered Italy to the Allies.

However, a secret of this kind cannot be kept indefinitely. The Allied imperialists want compliance with the armistice terms and this requires publication sooner or later. Moreover, thru the experience of nearly a year of Allied Military Government, the masses have gained at least a rough idea of the character of the armistice which was imposed on them.

Since the armistice was signed, the people in the "liberated" south and in Sicily have been

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Facing the Eruption

Land Grab Offers Preview Of Government 'Post-War' Plans

By R. Bell

A preview has recently been provided of the manner in which the government intends to dispose of huge Government-owned plants, equipment and land, accumulated during the war. The director of surplus property disposal under the Baruch plan is W. L. Clayton, head of the largest cotton combine in the world. Clayton, part of the Wall Street contingent in charge of administering the Roosevelt-endorsed Baruch plan, has placed the disposal of surplus Government-owned real estate and farm land into the hands of the big real estate operators. Government holdings comprise some 20 percent of the land area in the nation. Millions of acres of valuable property have been turned over to the manipulation of real estate speculators in what promises to be the greatest land grab since the last World War. This is the pattern of "post-war" planning in which the central concern is the preservation of the so-called "free enterprise" system.

WALL ST. GRAB

Under the slogan of maintaining the "free enterprise" system the Wall Street freebooters are preparing to reap a rich harvest of plunder at the expense of the American people. In addition to the large holdings of land, Government-owned plant and equipment comprises 25 percent of the total productive capacity of the nation. The plunderbund is scheming to take over complete control of this vast industrial empire. The sole interest of the monopolists is to eliminate competition and to ration production so that a smaller output sold at higher prices bring greater profits. In a word, to preserve the system of "monopoly enterprise" under the demagogic slogan of a "free" enterprise system.

The attitude of the monopolists toward industrial expansion has been one of determined resistance. The "free enterprisers" opposed construction of new industrial capacity prior to, and during the war, because monopoly fears "overproduction" and strives to maintain an artificial scarcity which permits it to fix prices at monopoly levels. During the so-called "National Defense Program" when the U. S. was preparing to enter the war, the big corporations refused to invest their own capital in plant expansion. **Even though offered extremely liberal concessions to expand productive capacity and convert to war production, they staged a "sit-down" against the government. Roosevelt's edict that, "you can't strike against the government," apparently does not apply to the money-bags.**

SIT-DOWN

The result of this "sit-down" was complete capitulation of the government to the demands of the corporations. One of the concessions granted was the five year amortization privilege — against the generally established 20 year rule. This amortization privilege meant that the entire cost of the new plant and equipment could be deducted from taxes within a period of five years. It amounted to making an outright gift to the corporations out of the public treasury for new production capacity whose ownership would reside in their hands. In addition the government offered very liberal loans and made other tempting concessions. But the corporations "viewed with alarm" the possible threat to their monopoly control involved in enlarging the nation's productive capacity, and held back.

War or no war, the primary concern of the monopolists is profits. Considering that the expansion of productive facilities would threaten their "post-war" monopoly position and curtail their monopoly profits, the corporations opposed expansion even after all their demands had been met. The government was literally FORCED into building the plants and furnishing the equipment to feed the war machine. Now Government-owned plant and equipment represents an investment of over 20 billion dollars in the most modern and efficient machinery, tools and manufacturing facilities, most of it capable of being con-

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British Trotskyists Go to Prison, Greet Comrades Throughout World

The following cablegram from the four British Trotskyists railroaded to prison by the Tory government of Winston Churchill under the anti-labor Trade Disputes Act was received as we went to press. The message, sent on June 23 when they went to prison, was held up for more than three weeks by the "democratic" capitalist censorship.

See story on page 2.

'In going to prison, we send greetings to our eighteen American comrades now serving prison sentences. We send fraternal greetings to the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International. We express our solidarity with the thousands of Fourth Internationalists all over the world who are undergoing similar persecutions at the hands of the super-imperialists. We affirm that only the Fourth International can emancipate the workers of the world.'

Revolt Against Pledge Wins Support Of Union Militants

Rank and File Leadership Forged in Midst of Convention Fight With Top Power Cliques

BULLETIN

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., July 15.—The majority of the resolutions committee of the Michigan CIO Convention approved support for the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners, but for lack of time this resolution was referred with others to the incoming Executive Board for action. The Board is expected to endorse the favorable recommendation of the resolutions committee.

By John Saunders

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., July 15.—1800 delegates, representing more than 800,000 Michigan CIO workers, met here at the Civic Auditorium in Grand Rapids July 12-15 for their seventh annual state convention, the largest state CIO convention ever held in this country. This huge gathering was marked by a rank and file revolt against the no-strike pledge foisted on the membership by the top CIO officialdom as well as by an open break on the part of a large section of the delegates with both the Reuther and Addes-Stalinist power cliques that dominated this and many previous conventions. Forming their own caucus with but little preparation, the ranks waged a strong uphill battle against the bureaucrats and succeeded in mustering more than a third of the delegates to rise in favor of rescinding the no-strike pledge.

STAGE-PLAY

The top bureaucrats set the stage for the fight around the no-strike pledge with a finesse that would have made Hollywood green with envy. Nothing was left to chance. A score of leading UAW and CIO officials in tireless procession warned against the dire consequences that would befall the workers if the no-strike policy were altered. The war would be lost, Roosevelt would be defeated, nothing would be gained for labor, and public opinion would be inflamed against the working class. R. J. Thomas, UAW President, James Carey, CIO Secretary-Treasurer, John Brophy, National Director of CIO Councils, George Addes, UAW Secretary-Treasurer, August Scholle, Sixth Political Region Director, Adolph Germer, Western Director of CIO, and John Gibson, President of the Michigan State CIO Council were some of the labor skates who flooded the convention with their oratory in favor of continuing the abject surrender policy of the no-strike pledge.

Not content with labor's hatchet men the stage artists called upon farm leaders, invoked the aid of the clergy in the form of Bishop Haas, trotted out army and navy brass hats, and finally resorted to soldiers and sailors who had been decorated with the Purple Heart for bravery in battle to help them in their fight against the ranks.

Although he was obviously coached in his prominent role, pharmacist mate Harvey Martin in his eagerness to please overplayed his part. Asked by one of Gibson's henchmen from the floor what effect it would have "on the morale of soldiers and sailors if we rescind the no-strike pledge," Martin hurried to reply: "I am not a union member but 85% of the men on the battle fields are and I can truthfully tell you all the men would feel let down if you rescind the no-strike pledge." Carter of AC Local 651 Flint correctly pointed out to the delegates that Martin's exaggerated claim of the number of union men in service was no less than 70% from the mark. Henry Millard of Bomber Local 50 likewise objected to the "cheap parliamentary strategy that was permitted."

RANK AND FILE

Yet against this array of talent the ranks not only fought back but forged a leadership in the very heat of battle. Although the bureaucratic proponents of the no-strike pledge consumed at least six hours of the convention's time, they permitted less than 45 minutes for discussion of this most important problem by the ranks. Gibson recognized only a half-dozen delegates among the opponents of the no-strike pledge who were confined to three minutes each by the convention rules. John McGill, Buick Local 599 of

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Tasks And Prospects Of The Italian Revolution

By The Editors

This week marks a year of the downfall of the Mussolini regime and the unleashing of the forces of the Italian revolution.

The disintegration of the Italian army a year ago, the military catastrophes, the outburst of tremendous strikes throughout Italy's industrial north, brought the Mussolini regime, and with it, the rule of the capitalists and landlords, to the brink of disaster. The ruling class dumped Mussolini and hastened to surrender to the Allies. They knew that only by the aid of foreign bayonets could they hope to prop up their disintegrating rule. All hope of military resistance had ceased. Nothing remained but to attempt to salvage the system of capitalism itself.

The masses of Italy, who a year ago rose up in their majesty and might and ran the fascists into holes and hiding places, desired not the perpetuation but the destruction of the rotten system of capitalism. They desired not the continuation of the imperialist war, but peace. They desired not the retention of power on the part of the old upper class capitalist and landlord scum, who for 20 years locked them in the vise of the fascist dictatorship, but the complete destruction of the rule of the exploiters and tyrants.

But from the very first day of Allied occupation of Sicily, up to the establishment of Allied control over Naples and occupation of Rome, the Anglo-American capitalist powers have revealed, so that today even the blind can see, that their real aim is to subjugate the peoples of Italy. They come not as liberators but as conquerors.

They aim to establish themselves as imperial overlords over Italy and to exploit its peoples for the greater wealth and power of the Wall Street and the Lombard Street bankers. They intend to prop up with their bayonets the same upper class scum who formed the warp and woof of Mussolini's Fascist regime. The Italian masses are learning today that the Allies are fighting the Nazi only to replace Nazi exploitation and tyranny with Anglo-American exploitation and tyranny.

The Italian masses demanded an end to the slaughter into which Mussolini had thrust them. Italy has been converted into an imperialist battleground.

The Italian masses wanted bread. Pietro Nenni, the Social-Democratic, pro-Allied leader of Rome, has just revealed what Allied rule has accomplished for Italy in this respect. **"If eight or ten more Italian cities get into the state of Naples, where three-quarters of the citizens live by beggary, prostitution, peddling and black marketing, Italy will cease to exist," stated Nenni.** The cost of living in Rome which rose 749 percent between November 1940 and June 1944, registered a further sharp rise after the city was taken over by the Allies. The daily food allotment for Italians in Naples under Allied rule is reputed to be the lowest in Europe, lower even than the food allotment in Warsaw under Nazi rule. The Italian masses are starving.

The Italian masses set out to uproot every vestige of the butcher fascist regime. Under Allied rule, the self-same rascals, crooks and profiteers who tyrannized over the Italian people for twenty years have been returned to power. The Allies shield the black shirts from the wrath and vengeance of the people, while they disarm the anti-fascist militants. Such is the sum and substance of Allied "liberation" of Italy.

From their own bitter experience, the Italian masses are learning the stark reactionary aims of the Allied invaders. Their present disillusionment

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Seattle Union Levels Rebuke At Stalinists For Free Speech

Acting in the best tradition of the labor movement a number of important unions in the Pacific Northwest have strongly denounced the vigilante raid, organized by the Stalinists, on a meeting of the American Friends Service (Quakers) held at the Plymouth Congregational Church, Seattle, Washington. *The Militant* of July 8 carried a story on the incident calling upon organized labor to put a halt to Stalinist gangsterism which was imperiling the basic freedoms for which labor has fought over the years: Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Assemblage. We have just received a copy of a resolution adopted by one of the largest unions in Seattle, stigmatizing the Stalinists for their "cowardly attack on the 'Right of Freedom of Speech.'"

CONDEMN ACT

104 Reporter, the official paper, reports that: "By an overwhelming majority, Boilermakers' Local 104 went on record at its last meeting vigorously condemning the action of 'hooligans' who disrupted the series of lectures sponsored by the American Friends Service at the Plymouth Congregational Church." The resolution was adopted after a heated debate in which speaker after speaker arose and flayed the storm-trooper action of the Stalinists. "This disruption took place," says the resolution, "under the cloak of a vicious and repulsive campaign of slander carried on by the Communist (Stalinist) paper called 'The New World' and was carried out by members of this organization."

After pointing to the splendid tradition of the labor movement of the Pacific Northwest in the long and bitter fight for free speech, a tradition which the Stalinists have befouled, the resolution "resolves," "that Local 104, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Welders and Helpers goes on record strongly condemning this act of hooliganism and the organization (Stalinist) and paper (The New World) involved."

The entire progressive labor movement must rally to repulse the reactionary Stalinist campaign to terrorize and stifle the free expression of opinion within the labor movement. The action of Local 104 and other unions in the Pacific Northwest in publicly condemning the Stalinists is an indication that organized labor is alert to this danger and ready to react vigorously against such attacks on freedom of speech.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS

The growing rank-and file opposition throughout the labor movement to the no-strike pledge was reflected two weeks ago at the second international convention of the nine-months-old CIO United Packinghouse Workers of America, which met for three days in Omaha, Nebraska.

A militant minority, led by delegates from the important Armour meat trust chain, fought vigorously against the no-strike pledge and an amendment to the constitution empowering the international executive board to "investigate" all strikes or slowdowns of UPWA members and to take whatever disciplinary action "it may deem necessary."

Delegates opposing the no-strike policy, who recounted the vile conditions in the industry and the provocations of the bosses, drew repeated rounds of applause from the over 500 delegates. But the pressure from the UPWA and CIO officials—with the Stalinists taking the lead in slanderous attacks on the militants—finally extorted a majority vote once more for the no-strike pledge. The chief weakness of the opposition was inadequate organization in its struggle against the well-organized machine of the officialdom.

One of the most progressive features of the convention was the fight put up by Negro delegates to put the union on record for some real action against the mounting anti-Negro discrimination. These delegates argued that the union must do more than preserve equality within its own ranks, and must fight aggressively to eliminate discrimination everywhere, in industry and the armed forces. This action of the Negro delegates, supported by progressive white workers, secured the passage of a far stronger resolution than was originally introduced. Negroes compose 30 per cent of the workers in the packing house industry.

For many years the packinghouse workers were directed by an organizing committee appointed from the top by the CIO national officials. They lacked local autonomy for six years. Finally, pressure from the ranks compelled the establishment last year of an international union—a move vigorously opposed by the Stalinist leadership of the controlling top committee. Since then the union has grown to over 100,000 members as compared to the 53,000 recruited during the previous six years.

* * *

BIG GROWTH

Despite war-time repressions and the labor-baiting of the capitalist government, the Canadian Congress of Labor, representing the CIO and several national unions, has increased 600 per cent in membership during the past three years, according to a report in the July 10 CIO News. Just three years ago, the CCL membership was only 50,000. Today, it is over 300,000. This upsurge of industrial unionism has been accompanied by a rapid development of independent workingclass political consciousness, as shown by the recent electoral victories of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation.

* * *

BOSS VOICES

Violating all the tested traditions of organized labor, the Stalinist leadership of Local 65, CIO Wholesale and Warehouse Workers Union, has opened the pages of the union's organ, New Voices, to the bosses, who are running a column entitled "Our Employers Say."

Not satisfied that the bosses daily spew their poison through all the great monopolized means of communication and education, the Stalinist rats are trying to gnaw a way for the bosses into the scant pages of the labor press itself, which the workers pay for out of their hard-earned pennies and dollars. This is another phase in the Stalinist campaign to disarm the unions and betray them from within to the invasion of the labor-hating employer class.

* * *

DOWNGRADED

A strike of over 1,000 AFL construction workers at the Advance Naval Base Depot, Davisville, R. I., broke out last week when the War Labor Board issued an order directing that several hundred skilled workers who were hired two years ago at rates of $1.25 to $1.35 an hour be downgraded to classifications paying only 93 cents an hour.

Foreshadowing what higher paid workers throughout the country may expect, these Rhode Island workers were compelled to do all sorts of unskilled work when their regular jobs were completed and now face a drastic reduction in pay through the decision of the WLB. The WLB brushed aside the fact that the men had been hired and were under contract as skilled workers.

The AFL and CIO members—captives, is a better word—of the WLB registered their usual minority dissent; but this did not outweigh the combined vote of the "impartial" public and employer members. **These WLB labor representatives are wailing more and more frequently these days about the anti-labor rulings of the pro-corporation majority. But they continue to act as a labor cover for this government agency, which has no other purpose than to ensnare the workers in the trap of compulsory arbitration and enforce wage-freezing, wage reductions and other parts of Roosevelt's and the bosses' program for squeezing labor.**

* * *

STRIKES OUT

Another member of the Stalinist Fraternity of Finks, Joseph Curran, president of the CIO Maritime Workers Union, has dared to begin squealing for a permanent no-strike surrender to the open shoppers. Like his notorious strikebreaking colleague, Harry Bridges, Curran declared in a radio broadcast on July 12 that the reactionary Stalinist NMU officialdom "wants none (strikes) now—or in the postwar period." He urged a no-strike policy for after the war if the ship operators continue to have the "same attitude and thinking" they now have.

The "attitude and thinking" of the employers is the same now as it was before the war and as it will continue to be after the war. They are out to smash the unions by every means at their command and to gouge greater profits out of the workers. Kowtowing to this "attitude and thinking," the Stalinists cover up for the viciously anti-labor actions of the employers now, and are trying to pave the way for the complete submission of labor to Big Business when the bosses and government will no longer be able to conduct their union-busting moves under a cloak of war-time patriotism.

* * *

OPENSHOP DRIVE

California's open shoppers, with a long and bloody record of anti-labor actions, have succeeded in placing on the state ballot for the fall elections a proposed amendment to the state constitution aimed at destroying the labor movement by outlawing closed shop contracts and union security clauses. This objective is concealed under a phony "right to work" slogan—a right the bosses conveniently forget during depressions and when they want to fire union men. Similar proposals are also to be voted upon in Florida and Arkansas.

The California employers organizations secretly financed a number of stooge outfits, such as the "California Associates" and "California Committee for the Right to Work," and paid an army of solicitors 11 cents apiece for each signature to the referendum petition of 180,000 names needed to put the amendment on the ballot. **A costly advertising anti-union smear campaign was conducted through the California boss papers. Non-organized workers were intimidated into signing petitions by bosses who made it clear that their "right to work" any longer at their present jobs depended on putting their names to this vicious anti-labor petition.**

The Militant
may now be purchased at
242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

Solidarity Fund Passes Half-Way Mark As British Trotskyist Leaders Enter Prison

Demonstrating their solidarity with the imprisoned British Trotskyists, friends and readers of *The Militant* have already sent in over half of the $1,000 fund launched by the Socialist Workers Party on June 24.

Like the eighteen Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners, four British leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist) were framed-up and railroaded to jail by a capitalist government which fears their voices and program. The prosecution of the British Trotskyists arose as a result of the militant coal strikes which swept England in March, and the April action of the "Bevin boys" — young apprentices who struck against forced labor in the mines.

ANTI-LABOR LAW

The Tory press, attributing the strikes to "agitators," violently attacked the Trotskyist movement. Ernest Bevin, Labor Minister of the coalition government, responsible for the mine-draft, invoked the use of the notorious anti-labor Trades Disputes Act which had been devised by the Tories after the 1926 General Strike shook Britain to its foundations.

Roy Tearse, national secretary of the Militant Workers' Federaton, and Heaton Lee, a former organizer of native mine-workers in South Africa, were sentenced to 12 months by the British court; Jock Haston, general secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party, to six months; and Ann Keen, London district secretary of the RCP, to 13 days. They had been convicted of "aiding workers on strike."

As in the Minneapolis case, the workers who testified in the trial blew up the flimsy case of the prosecution but to no avail; the courts were determined to convict. Typical was the testimony of 19-year old apprentice James William Davy, who declared on the witness stand, "The Tyne Apprentices Guild was formed because of the apprehension which existed amongst apprentices on Tyneside with regard to the Bevin Ballot Scheme and it was our first intention to organize ourselves to try to withstand what we termed the attack upon us by coming out on strike . . . These were our objectives before we met the accused."

In a ringing accusation against his jailers after sentences were passed, Jock Haston addressed the court to say, "I hope I have served my class as well as you have served yours."

The frame-up prosecution and trial have aroused a wide movement of protest in the British working class. Eight Members of Parliament have joined the Anti-Labor Laws Victims Defense Committee to fight for the freedom of the four Trotskyist prisoners. Although the American capitalist press carried reports of the arrests, and participated in the first red-baiting smear drive against the British Trotskyists, they have remained silent about the trial and convictions. In spite of this lack of publicity, the advanced section of the American working class has been able to follow developments in the case through the pages of *The Militant*.

Our friends and readers have already shown that they want to do more than read about this case. They want to extend the hand of labor fellowship across the seas to our victimized comrades in England. Answer capitalism's international persecution of revolutionary socialist leaders by the international aid of the working class!

Add your contribution to those already listed below, by sending it to the Business Manager of *The Militant*, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y., immediately!

BRITISH FUND CONTRIBUTIONS

From SWP Branches

San Francisco	$ 100.00
Detroit	100.00
Newark	25.00
Cleveland	15.00
Youngstown	10.00
New Haven	5.00
Allentown	5.00
Milwaukee	5.00
Quakertown	5.00
Reading	5.00
Rochester	5.00
St. Louis	5.00
Los Angeles	100.00
New York	109.00
Twin Cities	22.50
Bayonne	11.90
Chicago	18.00
	546.40

Individual Contributions:

Dayton	$ 5.00
D. J., Los Angeles	5.00
J. R., New York	5.00
K., New York	5.00
	20.00
TOTAL	$566.40

Since the introductory offer of 13 issues of **The Militant** for 25c. has become a permanent feature, the branches have been quick to utilize the special sub card in getting the paper into the hands of more new readers. For instance, our agent in New Haven writes:

"Tonight we went out on a **Militant** sub drive and obtained three subs, which I enclose, with a promise of more next week. Please send me 25 more sub cards."

Cleveland is continuing an all-out campaign for 3-month subscriptions: "Here are 9 sub cards and three more which I list for lack of cards on hand. . . We're very glad to hear that 50 additional copies of The Militant will be available for us weekly. Perhaps now we can take on a minimum distribution in a town lush with manufacturing concerns."

San Francisco writes: "We should like to order 100 sub cards for our work here." The agent's letter to Pioneer Publishers, which we have asked permission to quote, shows that well-organized plans have been made for the next two months' work:

"The San Francisco Branch during the next period is going to be very busy securing renewals of our regular six-month subs to The Militant. We believe that the forthcoming plan of selling the trial pamphlets is a very good one and would like to begin this immediately with our regular subscribers. Therefore, we should like you to send us 100 sets of the four pamphlets at the special rate so that we can begin using them in our current recall work."

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CRDC to Present Pardon Plea

(Continued from page 1)

in America's outstanding case of civil liberties violations during World War II. This has necessitated the printing of an additional 20,000 copies of the CRDC pamphlet, "Who Are the 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case." The supply of the original issue of 30,000 copies has been exhausted within five months. The new edition contains a complete up-to-date list of the hundreds of trade unions supporting the case.

In order to meet the heavy expenses of the expanded pardon campaign as well as to provide adequate relief for the families of the prisoners, the CRDC last week initiated a special summer financial drive. Local CRDC committees are urged to intensify their contact work, hold fund-raising affairs such as socials, parties and picnics, and, if possible, increase their monthly fund quotas. All defenders of labor's civil liberties and democratic rights are urgently requested to send contributions to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 60 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Resolutions, letters, contributions and editorial expressions of support continue to pour into the CRDC national office, particularly from various sections of the labor movement. The June 29 issue of the **Lincoln Leader**, organ of CIO United Automobile Workers Local 900, featured a strong appeal on behalf of the imprisoned 18, entitled "900 Demands Justice."

The article condemns the persecution of the "eighteen anti-fascists now behind bars," exposes the "backstairs deal" between AFL Teamsters head Daniel Tobin, the Minnesota bosses and the local, state and federal administrations which led to the frameup of the 18, and states that many unions, including Local 900, are giving "generous aid to the CRDC, because they realize the importance of repealing the Smith 'Gag' Act before more militants are imprisoned for their political beliefs."

At the June 25 meeting of the Workmen's Circle District Conference in Boston, Chairman N. Rothberg spoke on the unjust imprisonment of the 18 and urged the delegates to give full support in the fight to secure their freedom.

Recent contributors to the CRDC include the Kansas City, Kansas, Joint Council of the CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees; United Mine Workers Local 12762, Wallingford, Conn.; United Construction Workers, Cincinnati, O.; Knitgoods Workers Local 155, AFL International Ladies Garment Workers, New York City; and three branches of the Workmen's Benefit Fund, No. 86, Baltimore, No. 343, Buffalo, N. Y., and No. 172, Easton, Pa.

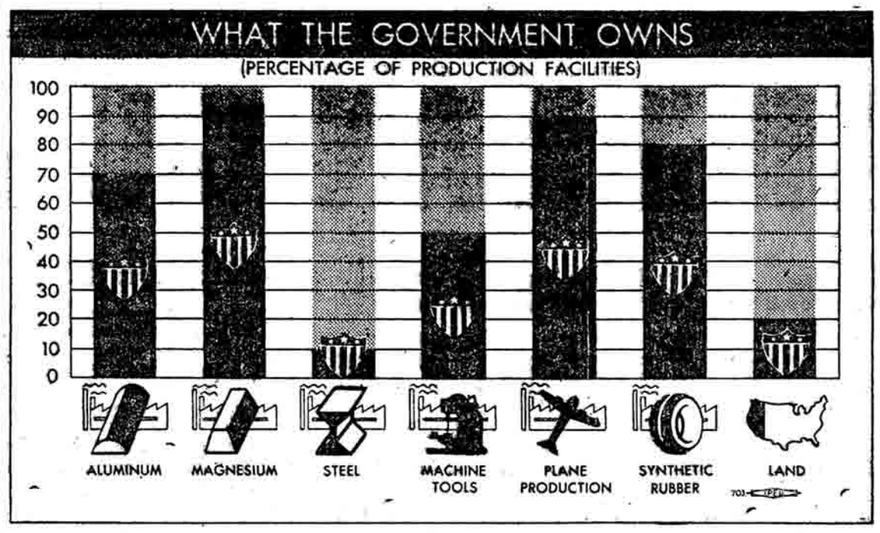
Los Angeles Plans Memorial Meeting

LOS ANGELES—Preparations are under way to make the Los Angeles Trotsky Memorial meeting the largest and most successful meeting ever held in this city by the Socialist Workers Party. Feature of the meeting, to be held on Sunday evening, August 20, at Embassy Auditorium, will be motion pictures of Leon Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International. These films, taken in Mexico shortly before he was assassinated by Stalin's G P U, have not been shown in Los Angeles for several years.

Following the motion pictures, the audience will hear a recording of Trotsky's speech to the Socialist Workers Party on the Tenth Anniversary of the founding of the American Trotskyist movement. This film and speech will be extremely interesting to our host of new friends who have never before had such a remarkable opportunity to hear and see the great leader of revolutionary socialism.

The memorial address by Murry Weiss will stress the historical achievements of Comrade Trotsky, especially the founding of the world movement of the proletarian revolution, the Fourth International. Over forty of Trotsky's books published in the United States, as well as copies of his works in foreign languages, will be displayed. During the meeting, a trained workers' chorus will sing inspiring songs of the revolutionary movement.

Tickets may be obtained by writing to Room 204, 232 South Hill Street, Los Angeles 12, Cal., or by calling VA 7936.



Land Grab Offers View Of "Post-War" Planning

(Continued from page 1)

verted into the production of civilian commodities.

For the "duration of the war" the Government-owned plants have been "leased" to the corporations who operate them at a guaranteed profit. It is estimated that these plants are operated by approximately 250 corporations: the bulk of them going to a small group of corporate giants who have monopolized the field in such strategic industries as steel, aluminum, chemicals, rubber, oil and aircraft. Numbering about 25, this small group of monopoly interests include Alcoa (Mellon), Standard Oil (Rockefeller), Du-Pont, J. P. Morgan, Dow Chemical, etc. It is these "free enterprisers" who are most concerned about the disposal of the vast productive capacity embodied in the Government-owned facilities. By virtue of their economic power as well as of their domination of the Democratic and Republican parties, the Wall Street tycoons are plotting to gain permanent possession and control over the vast industrial empire constructed by the government during the war.

In seeking to gain such control "monopoly enterprise" has only one aim: profits! In attempting to justify this aim Robert R. Nathan, ex-chairman of the Planning Committee, War Production Board, an apologist for the "free enterprise" system, explains: "Under a competitive system, we can hardly expect competitors to make the interest of the public and the total good of society their first consideration. It is unreasonable and inconsistent with the spirit of competition for a manufacturer or distributor who is in competition with other producers to be so benevolent or public-spirited in his operations as to consider the welfare of all the people or of all his customers or even of all his employees above and beyond the profitable interests of his own business."

The profit motive is paramount in the "free enterprise" system. To the monopolists the greatest evil is that of "overproduction" which "gluts" the market, reduces prices and lowers profits. Fixed prices, planned scarcity under curtailed production is the essence of monopoly practice. That is why the monopolists are pressing forward their "post-war" plan of junking a large part of the Government-owned production facilities, either by sale to private interests at a fraction of their cost, or by closing down and abandoning "excessive" productive capacity.

A return to pre-war production levels will mean unemployment for millions of workers. Writing on this problem last year, Thomas R. Amlie reported that: "In conversation business men admit that there may be a relapse to pre-war levels of activity after a few years, giving us ten million unemployed, but they consider such a situation quite normal." This is a conservative estimate. The most recent statistics reveal that a return to the production level of 1939 would result in unemployment for 15 to 19 million workers. This "quite normal" situation will inevitably prevail if the present Wall Street-inspired Baruch plan for the "free enterprise" disposal of Government-owned plants and equipment is put into effect.

These plants have been paid for out of public funds. In large part, the money has been provided out of taxes paid by workers. It is in the public interest to keep these plants in operation, to produce the necessities of life, food, clothing and shelter, for the welfare of the majority of people. The monopolists have already signified their intention of perpetuating an economy of scarcity in the midst of potential abundance by restricting the use of the productive capacity developed during the war.

Against the plan of reverting to conditions of mass unemployment, insecurity and want that prevailed under the "free enterprise" system following World War I the workers must counterpose their own plan: Operation of the Government-owned industries under workers control. **Under workers control of production the primary incentive would be the full utilization of all productive facilities for the production of commodities to supply the needs of the people. Only under workers control can such utilization be assured. The operation of the Government-owned plants under control of the worker's own organizations can be the initial step toward an economy of abundance by advancing toward the goal of nationalization of all industry.**

UAW OFFICIALS ARE ACCUSED OF FOSTERING SHADY DEAL

Special to *The Militant*

DETROIT, July 14. — The resignation of Tucker P. Smith as Regional Director of the United Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Employes-CIO, has caused not only considerable repercussions within that International but also genuine concern among the ranks of the UAW because of the nature of Smith's charges. Smith has accused R. J. Thomas, Walter Reuther and George Addes, President, Vice-President and Secretary respectively of the UAW, of conspiring with Samuel Wolchok, President of the URWDSE, to get rid of him for his forthright support and organizational activities on behalf of the newly formed Michigan Commonwealth Federation.

According to Smith, the UAW Executive Board voted to give $25,000 to the URWDSE on condition that steps be taken to have Smith removed from his post with a promise that additional funds be turned over after the deal was consummated.

Smith first heard of this alleged conspiracy, he says, when he was informed by members of the Detroit Joint Board of the URWDSE that they had been approached by Wolchok's representative who sought their support for Smith's ouster in order to obtain for the International this badly needed sum of money. A committee of three members of the Detroit Joint Board headed by Tom Millington, a local executive officer, was then appointed to investigate this affair and obtain interviews with the three top UAW officials to get their side of the story. Thus far they have succeeded only in seeing Addes.

When the committee met with Addes it also expected to hear a denial by him of any such conspiracy. Much to their surprise, Smith relates, Addes spilled the beans. He frankly admitted that the money was given to get rid of Smith because of the latter's alleged violation of CIO policy. In return for the $25,000 the URWDSE Executive Board was to try Smith on three charges: 1, as "strikebreaker" for refusing to call a sympathy strike in the Montgomery Ward stores in Detroit at the time of the Ward tie-up in Chicago, although the Detroit Joint Board had not sanctioned strike action; 2, for his responsibility in connection with the recent walkout of workers of Local 490 UAW-CIO at Chrysler Highland Park; 3, for his activities in organizing and building the Michigan Commonwealth Federation.

Smith says that on further examination Addes readily divulged the fact that he was really interested only in the last named charge. Addes is alleged to have dismissed Smith's role in the Ward strike. He was likewise forced to agree that Smith as an outsider could not very well have played any kind of a role in the Chrysler tie-up. The provocations of the Chrysler corporation that led to the walkout are too well known both to the ranks and officers of the UAW.

But, according to Smith, Addes was quite obdurate about having Smith tried and ousted for his supposed violation of CIO policy in helping organize the MCF. The committee pointed out to Addes that Smith was merely carrying out the will of the ranks for an independent labor party. Smith was on the Executive Board of the Progressive Labor League which went on record for a labor party. Also, as Vice-President of the Michigan State CIO Council which at its last convention voted to launch a labor party and as Executive Director of the Detroit Joint Board of the URWDSE which supports such a party, it was obviously Smith's duty to help build the MCF. The committee informed Addes that a trial of Smith on these phony charges would only disclose the shabby role of the UAW top leaders and the Gestapo methods which Addes was attempting to set up inside the CIO.

The trial was dispensed with, says Smith, because Wolchok and the top UAW officials feared that this rotten deal would come to light. Instead, the URWDSE Executive Board passed a ruling binding all regional directors to follow Wolchok's direction, irrespective of the will of the rank and file in the locality. Since Smith refused to make or carry out important decisions without first consulting the ranks, he tendered his resignation as Regional Director.

Not satisfied with Smith's enforced resignation as regional director, the URWDSE Executive Board is also attempting to remove him from his post as Executive Director of the Detroit Joint Board. Leonard Levy, International Vice-President, was designated to take over the offices and properties heretofore under Smith's direction. Upon completing this transfer Levy is now proceeding to appoint administrators for the local unions. Smith called a meeting of the Detroit Joint Board for July 11th in his attempt to fight this move on the part of the International officers but Levy immediately countered with a notice of cancellation.

As this internal struggle continues in the URWDSE, rank and file militants are awaiting a candid reply on the part of the top UAW officials to the serious charges brought against them by Smith and would welcome a thorough airing of these charges.

One Year Of Revolutionary Struggle In Italy

By Art Preis

One year ago, on July 25, the insurgent toilers of Italy struck the first great successful workingclass revolutionary blow against fascism. On that momentous day, Mussolini, the founder of fascism, was overthrown. His government, prototype of the Hitler and Franco regimes, crumbled to bits under the hammer-blows of the Italian masses, who had been pounding away for months at the rotten fascist edifice with mass strikes and peace demonstrations, accompanied by wholesale desertions and mutinies in the Italian imperialist armies.

The formal ousting of Mussolini was a last-minute maneuver on the part of his own henchmen, headed by Marshal Badoglio and King Victor Emmanuel, who hoped that by tossing Mussolini overboard they would appease the Italian masses, preserve the shell of the fascist regime, and calm the revolutionary tide pounding against capitalist-landlord rule in Italy. But, as *The Militant* of July 31, 1943 wrote following the first news of Mussolini's downfall and the initial joyous mass demonstrations, the revolt was "a threat not only to the fascist party, but also to the monarchy, the military leaders, the capitalists, the landowners and the clerical hierarchy who supported the fascists."

SPUR TO ACTION

The Italian workers correctly regarded the ouster of Mussolini not as the voluntary action of the ruling summits but a panic-stricken move in response to the overwhelming pressure and actions of the masses. Far from curbing revolt, the deposition of Mussolini signified the extreme weakness and debility of the regime. It served as a signal to the masses that the opportunity had come to strike powerful insurrectionary blows at the Italian ruling class and its whole monstrous system.

Throughout all Italy the masses, ground for 22 years under the heel of fascism, rose in their might. The people poured by hundreds of thousands into the streets of the cities. Giant demonstrations surged through the public squares and before the government buildings. The fascist leaders and their hirelings began to flee in the black of night. The homes of many of the worst fascist enemies of the workers were stormed, and not a few met bloody retribution for their bestial crimes. The masses broke open the prisons, liberated the political prisoners and put them at their head.

For three days, Badoglio and his reconstituted government tried to maintain the tottering structure of the fascist party and the old institutions of the fascist regime. But the insurgent masses were setting the fate of fascism on the streets. They seized and ransacked the fascist party headquarters; they destroyed the fascist records and documents; they tore down every symbol and device of the fascists; and they scattered and drove into hiding the disorganized and demoralized minions of the old order. Badoglio was forced to declare the dissolution of the Fascist Party — after the workers themselves had dismembered it in fact.

SIGNS OF REVOLT

From the first, the revolt exhibited manifestations of the most profound social revolutionary class struggle. All the signs and symbols of the socialist movement, nurtured for 22 years in the hearts of the workers, flowered openly once more. In the great industrial cities of the North, Milan, Turin, Florence, Bologna, the workers marched out of the factories under the Red Flag. On their banners they inscribed the slogans: "Down With The War! Down With Fascism! Down With Capitalism! Long Live The Socialist Republic!" From their lips arose once more the immortal words and music of the revolutionary battle-song of the Italian proletariat — "Bandiera Rossa" — The Red Banner!

Simultaneously, the underground organizations and parties of the workers emerged into the open and began to issue their manifestoes and publish their press. The workers flocked to those parties which had represented for them traditionally in the past the struggle for socialism, the perfidious Socialist and Communist Parties. From the very first the workers began to reconstitute their organizations of struggle, trade union bodies, factory committees, workers and soldiers councils. The capitalist press, reporting in a vague and distorted fashion the titanic upsurge, could not refrain from characterizing these committees and councils for what they were — embryo soviets.

Through these bodies, the workers began raising their demands, for democratic rights of free speech, press and assembly, for higher wages, shorter hours, lower prices. These merged with broader political demands, for the overthrow of the monarchy, the establishment of their own government freely elected by the masses, above all, an end to Italian participation in the imperialist war. The workers and peasants in uniform refused to fight as the tools of Italian imperialists; many of them fraternized with the soldiers on the opposite sides of the lines, and in Greece and Yugoslavia they joined forces with the Partisans.

DOWN WITH BADOGLIO

The Badoglio regime revealed itself from the start as a military-police dictatorship without any support in the masses, trying to cling to the wreckage of the old army and police and other agencies of capitalist class coercion in order not to be swept away in the revolutionary flood. Badoglio ordered martial law, placed the old fascist officials under protective arrest, that is, protective custody from the masses, issued decrees against meetings and assemblages, banned political parties, suppressed all publications. In vain. The soldiers sent against the workers in Milan and elsewhere refused to fire; they joined hands with the masses. The cry arose more insistently: "Down with the war!" and "Down with the Monarchy and Badoglio!" who supported the war.

The Badoglio regime was speeding to a quick collapse. But from the North and South there approached the forces to which the ruling classes of Italy looked for salvation from the impending social revolution. German and Anglo-American imperialism both joined to crush the Italian revolution. While Nazi arms and troops poured unimpeded through the Brenner Pass into North Italy, huge American and British bombers flew to the revolutionary centers in the Po Valley, Milan, Turin, Florence, and unloaded their death and destruction on the homes of the anti-fascist workers who had already succeeded in wresting control of these industrial centers from both the Nazis and Fascists. Badoglio's generals first refused to supply arms to the workers who clamored to put up an armed resistance to the approaching Nazi troops, and then opened the way for the unimpeded entry of the Nazi reenforcements.

ALLIED "LIBERATION"

At the same time, Badoglio made preparations for surrender to the Allied powers.

The "liberating" armies of Churchill and Roosevelt as they fought their way North, first to Naples and finally to Rome, propped up the Badoglio regime on their bayonets. The Allied Military Government recognized the rule of Badoglio and the monarchy in South Italy, and sought to impose this regime on the resisting masses. After the Allied armies took Naples, the demand for the overthrow of Badoglio and the monarchy became so insistent and strong, that the AMG had to ban all meetings and demonstrations and make strikes illegal. Thanks to the timely aid of the treacherous "democratic coalition" of the Stalinists, Social-Democrats, and the liberal parties, a planned strike of the Naples workers last March was called off, although a huge demonstration demanding the ousting of the Badoglio regime and the monarchy was staged. Three months later under continuous pressure of the masses, Badoglio and the King were forced to retire in favor of a new Allied puppet regime under Bonomi with Prince Umberto replacing Victor Emmanuel.

In both Rome and Naples, when the Allied armies entered, they found the workers and anti-fascist Partisans engaged in successful armed struggle against the Nazi and Fascist forces. The enemies of the workers had been driven into hiding; the workers with rifles and machine-guns in hand were searching the fascists out, capturing them and placing them under arrest. The AMG military forces went into action—against the anti-fascist fighters, disarming them, placing them under arrest, releasing the arrested fascists and placing the old reactionary and fascist officials back into their former positions of authority.

Meanwhile, in the industrial North, the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat has continued unabated, rising to ever new heights of heroic resistance to the Nazis and Blackshirts. Early in March, in the biggest mass action since the French workers seized the factories in June 1936, 6,000,000 North Italian workers engaged in a general strike which brought production to a standstill. All public transportation was halted. Barricades were thrown up in the streets and before plant gates, and hundreds of workers, perhaps thousands, died in armed clashes with the fascist troops.

The workers' representatives, defying orders to return to work, presented five demands to the German Wehrmacht, calling for more food and lower prices, withdrawal of the military conscription order for 19 year olds, cessation of slave labor shipments to Germany, reduction of the curfew hours, and the return to Italy of deported Italian workers. This mighty insurrectionary strike succeeded in wresting certain concessions from the Nazi military machine itself.

Since March, the independent class struggle of the North Italy workers against the Nazi invaders and their Blackshirt satellites has raged unceasingly. Every week bring new reports of assassinations of Blackshirt leaders and ruthless reprisals against the insurgent workers. New strikes, involving armed savage conflicts, flare up constantly. Pitched bloody battles are being fought daily in the streets.

For the past year the Italian workers have been thus demonstrating their mighty powers of struggle and resistance. In these tumultous events the Italian workers have displayed an indomitable revolutionary spirit. They have been testing, training and preparing themselves for the conquest of power and the creation of a Soviet Italy.

Hunting Down the Fascists in Rome

The remarkable picture above shows anti-fascist workers in Rome rounding up known fascist leaders and marching them through the city streets. One captive, folding his hands in a pleading gest ure, his face screwed up into a tearful expression, demonstrates the craven fear of the fascists before the wrath of the workers.

A Liberal Voices Capitalist Fear Of Socialist Revolution

By Henry Jordan

Frightened at the prospects of titanic social convulsions arising from the bloody world catastrophe unloosed by their own class, a whole crop of wailing Cassandras has sprung forth recently from the liberal capitalist ranks. They are trying to arouse the capitalists to some course of action which will save their system from the tidal wave of the workers' revolution.

A sounding-board of ominous prophecy is William D. Herridge, an outstanding Canadian attorney who served as minister to the United States from 1931-35 and who recently authored the much-discussed book, "Which Kind of Revolution?" In an article, "The Time Is Now!", published in La Follette's "The Progressive" magazine May 15, Herridge once more appeals to the capitalists to avert a "bloody revolution" by changing their ways.

Herridge first of all raises the question that has been wrung with increasing frequency in recent months from the lips of the most ardent supporters of the war, the liberals and "progressives." "What are we fighting for?" he asks in his opening sentence. "We are fighting for freedom. Our leaders say so. But what kind of freedom? Often, in the past, freedom has meant freedom to starve . . . poverty and unemployment . . . economic slavery."

FREEDOM

The common man is not fighting for this kind of "freedom," Herridge points out. What the common man wants is "freedom to enjoy all that Providence intended us to have," and that means "total use of the national resources for the benefit of the people."

"But we do not know," Herridge affirms. "Our leaders are so silent on the point that you would think they were afraid to say what kind of freedom we are fighting for."

Since the first World War, Herridge points out, there have been growing movements of protest. For the most part, Herridge says, these movements have failed to gain effective support. Now, however, the masses have witnessed the tremendous productivity modern technology has made possible. The vast production for war has taught them that. They have come to understand that there is no good reason to tolerate scarcity, hunger and want any longer.

VESTED INTERESTS

Herridge then puts his finger on the reason why nothing has been done. "For the same old reason that nothing ever has been done. The bosses of the system have one god. Its name is scarcity." And who are these bosses?

"They are the vested interests, big business, special privilege, corporate monopoly. They are the group or groups of interlocking groups which create cartels, control finance and fix prices, wages, costs. These bosses determine the nation's domestic policy and its foreign policy. They shape America's way of life. They make the laws. They dominate the mind of Congress."

The people "rose like a great sea" to support the war, but now after more than two years "frustration has replaced hope." And there now exist the "elements of crisis, the greatest in this country's history." Two warring camps are getting in formation for battle. On one side, "the champions of scarcity . . . the vested interests." On the other, "the people . . . the champions of abundance."

"The sword of the vested interests is Fascism. The sword of the people is revolution; perhaps peaceful, perhaps bloody." And here is the heart of Herridge's fears. He sees a coming battle between the capitalist forces of fascism and the proletarian forces of socialism. But this to him means "bloody revolution (that) rises out of chaos, disunity, disintegration."

Of course all Herridge can do at the end is to draw back in alarm at his own prognosis and try to appeal to the "better wisdom" of the "enlightened" capitalists. Herridge and his similars, however, perform one useful service. Their panic, forebodings and public lamentations, are a symptom of the acuteness of the world crisis of capitalism.

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Revolutionary Tasks And Prospects For Italy's Proletariat In Their Struggle For Liberation

(Continued from page 1)

with the Allies will soon turn to hatred and then to ferocious opposition.

As for the native landlord and capitalist cliques, the Italian masses were completely opposed to them even before the downfall of Mussolini. In its last years the Fascist regime was bereft of all mass support. Every institution associated with the Mussolini regime faced the hostile opposition of the popular masses. In its last period, the Mussolini regime could rule only as a naked military dictatorship. Since the downfall of the Mussolini regime, the Allies and their shadow governments are likewise forced to rule by naked force alone.

With the smashup of the Mussolini regime, Italy entered a revolutionary period. The revolution has by no means been smashed by the blows dealt it by the Allied and Nazi armies. Temporarily arrested, it is today again gaining strength, ready to march forth with redoubled determination and militancy to achieve the aims for which the Italian masses demonstrated in Milan and Turin one year ago. On June 15th the London Times correspondent wired his paper from Rome that "persons who were recently in northern Italy say that the whole country is solidly Communist—both the peasants and the workmen in the towns."

TREACHERY OF THE STALINISTS

The political atmosphere in Italy is white hot. The masses are rapidly learning. They have not simply turned away from the institutions, political parties and political representatives who were smeared with direct support of the Fascist dictatorship, but have in large measure turned away even from the traditional capitalist parties and capitalist politicians of the Sforza-Croce stamp. Of the six parties that comprise the Bonomi coalition government and the "Committee of National Liberation," only the so-called working-class parties, the Stalinists and the Social-Democrats, have any significant mass following. The Sforzas and Croces continue to walk the political stage only by virtue of Allied support and because of the perfidy of the supposed representatives of the working class.

Italy, as the testing-ground of the unfoldment of revolutionary events in Europe, has already revealed in unambiguous fashion the utter treachery and perfidy of the traditional parties of the working class—the Social-Democrats and the Stalinists. The Social-Democrats, in line with the policies of the "yellow" Socialist International, have added in Italy one more working class sell-out to their already long list of betrayals of the European proletariat. It is the Stalinists, however, who exercise the most extensive influence over the Italian working class today. They dominate the so-called working class representatives both in the government and in the six-party coalition, the "Committee of National Liberation."

From the very first days of the formation of the Badoglio government a year ago, the Committee of National Liberation, with the Stalinists playing the leading role, worked to deflect the working class revolutionary struggle, and used its influence and prestige to uphold the Badoglio government. They simply demanded that the Italian ruling clique change war partners and join the Allied camp.

When the Badoglio government finally exhausted itself, it was the Stalinists, under direct instructions from the Kremlin, who stepped in to break the deadlock for reaction and strengthen the Badoglio government under a facade of a six-party "coalition" government. Today the Stalinists are in the vanguard, campaigning for acceptance of the Allied "armistice" terms, which are reported to be more onerous and draconic than those Hitler imposed on prostrate France in 1940. Following their international role of policemen for world capitalism, the Stalinists in Italy have emerged as the very spearhead of reaction inside the working class movement.

The Italian masses want to get out of the imperialist war. The six-party coalition, under Stalinist leadership, tells the masses to enlist again in the army under the leadership of monarchical and fascist generals to fight under the banner of the Anglo-American imperialists.

DEMANDS OF ITALIAN PEOPLE

The Italian masses want bread, jobs and security. The six-party coalition under Stalinist leadership tells the masses to accept the Allied briganda' "armistice" terms which aim to convert Italy into a colony of the Anglo-American powers.

The Italian masses want to wipe out the rule of the fascist scum, they want freedom and their democratic rights; they want to establish a new government genuinely representative of the people and one that will fight for their interests. The six-party coalition, under the leadership of the Stalinists, tells the masses to support the Bonomi shadow government, which is nothing but a tool of the Allied powers, who are determined to reestablish the dictatorship of the rich.

The Italian masses want to wipe out the black market, to wipe out profiteering, they want bread. The six-party coalition under the leadership of the Stalinists confines itself to begging for a few crumbs from the Allies who are supporting and propping up the profiteers, the black market operations, the capitalist exploiters.

Masses learn quickly in revolutionary periods. In the white hot revolutionary Italy of today, the masses are sure to learn from their own experiences that the Stalinist-dominated six-party coalition is an organization of treachery and betrayal. At the next stage, the wrath and anger of the people will turn against these traitors.

NEW REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Already advanced groups of workers have come to the realization that it is necessary to create a new revolutionary party in Italy which will work to organize the Italian proletariat for revolutionary struggle against all their enemies and oppressors. The revolutionary working class party of Italy, which is sure to arise and grow strong, will be organized around the tested program and methods of Lenin and Trotsky, the program and methods of the great Russian revolution of 1917. The revolutionary workers party of Italy will be a Trotskyist party, because Trotskyism is the only genuine Marxist Socialism today. The revolutionary workers party of Italy will challenge the Stalinists and their allies of the six-party coalition in every sphere and on every front. They will expose the crimes and treachery of these misleaders and point the road to the Socialist revolution.

Against the Stalinist scheme to drag the Italian masses more deeply into the holocaust of the imperialist war, the Trotskyists will unfurl the banner of struggle against imperialism and imperialist war, the struggle for peace through socialism.

Against the Stalinist proposal to kowtow before the Allied invaders, to accept their overlordship and become subservient tools of the Allied war camp, the Trotskyists will raise the cry to clear Italy of all imperialist invaders.

PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE

Against the Stalinist program of placing reliance on the Allies for the achievement of democracy and democratic rights, the Trotskyists will urge the masses to organize into their own class organizations, to form workers councils, and to win their democratic rights in struggle against the Allied dictators, against the Badoglios, the Bonomis, and against the Social-Democratic and Stalinist betrayers inside the working class.

Against the Stalinist program of begging for crumbs from the Allies and the Italian capitalists, the Trotskyists will call the masses to struggle against the black market, against the profiteers and exploiters. They will urge the masses to organize their own working class consumers' committees and by their own class action to fight for jobs, for lowering of prices, for destruction of the black market, for food control.

Against the Stalinist program of begging the Allies and the Italian capitalists for jobs, of whining against unemployment, the Trotskyists will raise the demand for nationalization of all industry under workers' control.

Against the Stalinist program of relying on the Allies to give the Italian people a "free" government "after the war," the Trotskyists will teach the masses that only their own independent class organizations, only their workers, peasants and soldiers councils, only their own revolutionary struggle, can win for the masses their democratic rights and provide them the opportunity to elect a government of their own choosing.

Against the Stalinist program of keeping Italy under the rule of the capitalists and landlords, under the imperial overlordship of the Allies, the Trotskyists will explain that only a Socialist Italy can truly give peace, bread, and freedom to the masses, that the only way to avoid enslavement and destruction is the road of struggle for a Socialist Italy.

In this struggle the Italian masses will find allies, not in the Anglo-American rulers, who aim to convert Italy and its peoples into an exploited colony, not in the Italian capitalists and landlords, who have kneeled before the foreign invader in order to preserve their privileges and power, nor in the Sforzas, Bonomis, Social-Democrats and Stalinists who would deliver the Italian masses into the hands of their oppressors. The true allies of the Italian revolution are the insurgent masses of Europe, who like the Italians, aspire to drive out the old tyrants and exploiters, to destroy for all time imperialism and its wars, and to rebuild Europe on new socialist foundations. Arm in arm with these allies, the Italian working class will fight for a Workers and Peasants Republic as an integral section of the Socialist United States of Europe.

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Stalin Deals Harsh Blows To Soviet Women

By Ruth Johnson

From Moscow, on July 10, came the news of Stalin's latest decree, driving back into marital servitude and unrestricted child-bearing the women of the Soviet Union. The capitalist press was amused. According to *Time* magazine, July 17, the order sent Moscow papers "into rhapsodies on the bourgeois subject of motherhood." In America, the *Daily Worker* cynically claimed that the Stalinist move would "strengthen child welfare laws."

This new ukase delivers a crushing blow to Soviet women and children.

DIVORCE DIFFICULT

It makes divorce almost unobtainable except for the bureaucracy which can afford to pay the high fees required. "A divorce, which was formerly obtainable in a registry office, can now only be obtained by decision of a court... A sum of 100 roubles must accompany applications for divorce. Upon registration of the divorce decision . . . a sum ranging from 500 to 2,000 rubles must be paid either by one or both parties, as directed by the judge."

Thus money and not free choice will henceforth determine whether citizens of the Soviet Union may direct the course of their personal relationships. Well-heeled Stalinist autocrats may marry and divorce as often as they please. Workers must remain married, despite incompatibility, until they have made sufficient sacrifices to enable them to set aside a large sum of money. Children of workers must be raised in households based on poverty. Such is the real nature of "strengthening child welfare laws" under Stalin's reactionary regime.

The second provision in Stalin's boon to womanhood establishes a rising scale of bonuses for repetitive childbirth. In a burst of generosity, Stalin has proclaimed that to every woman who bears and raises ten children or more will go the richly earned title of "mother heroine!" A grant of 5,000 roubles for the eleventh child, twelfth, thirteenth, etc., etc., is intended to encourage the heroine not to halt at a mere ten.

MOTHERHOOD

To convince the Soviet mother that her sole purpose in life should be to breed as many children as nature may allow, the Soviet press is embarking on a propaganda campaign to "restore the dignity of motherhood." According to *Pravda*, motherhood no longer means hard work and untiring care, but is "the inexhaustible source of human rapture." *Izvestia* drooled, "In human speech, there is nothing more pure and exalted, nothing more tender and holy, than the word 'mother'."

Stalin has thoughtfully provided penalties for the delinquent as well as rewards for the fertile. Single men and women will be taxed to provide funds for the subsidies. Married couples with fewer than three offspring will be frowned upon, and likewise taxed, to encourage them to correct their laxity.

Even this does not complete Stalin's far-reaching plans to convert the Soviet masses into competitive breeders. A reporter of the *N. Y. Times* (July 16) was told by factory managers and city officials of one industrial town about "a future housing development that will in large part take the form of individual and two-family dwellings . . . Workers will be encouraged to own their own homes, thus giving them a stake in the community." The great economy and efficiency of large-scale housing projects, with their many aids to women, will be outmoded! There will be a return to individual homes, to which the wife will be chained by all her individual household tasks, and to which both husband and wife will be further tied by joint ownership of property. All the wastfulness in building and maintaining private homes will be brought back, as one more method of restoring woman to the nursery!

WIPES OUT PROGRESS

In the early years of the Soviet Union, under Lenin and Trotsky, the laws of marriage and divorce were made to give true dignity to every human relationship. Marriage became a simple matter of registering at a local bureau; divorce required only a notification of desire for divorce, by either or both parties. Thus, no woman and no man was bound to an onerous marriage.

Birth control was considered the right of every woman, so that she could plan her family as she chose, and live her life as she preferred. Motherhood, no longer thrust upon her by the pressure of society, for the first time gained real beauty and real joy because it was voluntary.

Stalin has cancelled out the great achievements of the Bolsheviks in the liberation of women. He has embraced the onerous forms of family slavery upheld by his latest reactionary ally, the Church. He repeats to Soviet women the biblical injunction, "Be ye fruitful and multiply."

IMITATES FASCISTS

The new decree lifts a leaf from the guide-books of Mussolini and Hitler, who likewise encouraged women to breed by rewarding those who reared large families and taxing those who did not. Having long since rejected the Leninist-Trotskyist method of defending the Soviet Union — through the extension of the socialist revolution — Stalin seeks to store up supplies of human cannon-fodder for future wars.

Implicit in the new marital laws, as in all the retrograde policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, is the view that world capitalism is going to live on indefinitely and that new imperialist attacks on the Soviet Union are therefore inevitable.

Against this reactionary, defeatist concept the Trotskyists call for unrelenting struggle against capitalism, for the extension of the October Revolution and its achievements to all other lands.

Rudolf Klement; A Martyr Of The 4th International

By Janet Norris

Six years ago, on July 12, 1938, agents of Stalin's secret police organization, the GPU, kidnapped and murdered in Paris, a young German revolutionist. He was Rudolf Klement, Secretary of the Bureau of the Fourth International and trusted co-worker of Leon Trotsky. Comrade Klement was one of many sincere, capable revolutionists whom the Kremlin strove with frenzied haste to remove from the ranks of the working class in preparation for the Second World War. Although as yet unknown to the masses of workers, he was nevertheless an important figure in the Fourth International, the only political group, as Stalin so well knew, which could expose to the world the reactionary role of Stalin in the coming holocaust.

DEVOTED COMRADE

Just twenty-eight years old at the time of his death, Klement had already devoted many years to the struggle for socialism. He had joined the revolutionary movement while still a young boy in Hamburg. From the very beginning of his activity, he was one of the most devoted, most able comrades in the ranks of the Trotskyists. When Leon Trotsky lived in exile in Turkey, from 1929 to 1934, Klement joined him to serve as his private secretary, and to translate into German many of Trotsky's writings. There also he began to do independent literary and political work for the Trotskyist movement. When Trotsky left Turkey, Klement, unable to return to the Germany then in the Nazi grip, settled in France as a political refugee. In France he worked diligently, devoting all of his time to the tasks of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International.

In the summer of 1938, there was important work for him to do in preparation for the First World Congress of the Fourth International, scheduled for Paris in October. Stalin, determined to behead and crush the Trotskyist movement, had already struck many blows at its ranks. Erwin Wolfe, a former private secretary of Trotsky, had been kidnapped and killed in Barcelona, as had been Hans Freund, one of the movement's most active figures in the early months of the Spanish Civil War. In September 1937 Ignace Reiss, a former agent of the GPU who had broken with Stalinism and joined the Fourth International, had been murdered in Switzerland. On February 16, 1938 Leon Sedov had died after an operation, under circumstances that left little doubt of GPU intervention. Now Stalin's hirelings struck again, at one of the key figures of the Fourth International.

Klement, on the very eve of his death, had attended an important meeting. Before retiring, he sent a cablegram to the Socialist Workers Party in America, concerning the evening's discussions. The next afternoon, he was seen collecting his mail, but from that moment, none of his comrades or friends saw him alive. On July 15, one of the leaders of the International Workers Party (the French Trotskyist group) received a carbon copy of a letter ostensibly sent by Klement to Leon Trotsky in Mexico. The letter had been mailed from Perpignan, a French town on the Spanish frontier.

GPU FORGERY

The letter, a GPU forgery, stated that Klement was breaking with the Fourth International, on the grounds that it was impotent, because of its alleged "objective collaboration with the fascists." It was typewritten in German, as was the signature "Rudolph Klement," which in turn was countersigned with Klement's pen-name —an entirely unprecedented procedure on his part, according to his comrades. For many weeks it was believed Klement had been transported to Spain; not until September, was his mutilated body found in the River Seine.

That Klement had been trailed by the GPU for some time, was well-known; two weeks before his kidnapping, a portfolio containing important political documents had been stolen from him. It was obvious that his movements were being closely checked by Stalin's killers.

To the Fourth International, the death of Klement was more than a blow depriving it of a leading comrade on the eve of great events. Shortly before his own assassination in Mexico, Trotsky wrote, "the assassination of Klement, because he was the Secretary of the Fourth International, is of profound symbolic significance. Through its Stalinist gangsters imperialism indicates beforehand from what side mortal danger will threaten it in time of war. . . At present, sections of the Fourth International exist in thirty countries. True, they are only the vanguard of the vanguard. But if today, prior to the war, we had mass revolutionary organizations, then revolution and not war would be on the order of the day."

COMING TRUMPH

Six years after the brutal murder of Klement by the Stalinist gangsters, imperialism again shows from what side danger threatens it. In all of Europe, revolution is on the order of the day, and in England and the United States "democratic" capitalist governments put behind bars the Trotskyist leaders whom they rightly fear. But neither the Stalinist murderers nor the imperialist jailers can turn back the tide of history. **As we pay homage today to the martyred Rudolf Klement, slain in the battle for a socialist world, we know that the day of avenging his death is not far off. Rudolf Klement will be avenged by the triumph of the coming European revolution.**

British IOU's

At the Bretton Woods monetary conference last week S.A.D. Shroff, of the Indian delegation, proposed that $4,000,000,000 of British indebtedness to India, represented by blocked sterling, be converted into American dollars at the rate of between $50 and $60 millions annually and the money used to purchase American equipment for the development of India.

Shroff likened India to "a man with a million-dollar balance in the bank but not enough cash to pay his taxi fare."

But Lord Keynes, head of the British delegation, just couldn't agree that India had any right to collect her due—much less spend it in America. Britain, he said, had incurred tremendous debts because it had fought the war "on the principle of unlimited liability and reckless disregard of economic consequences."

And, this steward of British imperialism might have added, in "reckless disregard" of subjugated India's wishes and interests.

READ
'THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL'

Severe Crisis Hits Bonomi Government As Italian Masses Exercise Pressure

(Continued from page 1)

subjected to conditions worse than in the last days of the Fascist regime: growing hunger, inflation, black markets. Instead of the promised peace, their country has been converted into a battlefield. There is no freedom of press or assembly. The parasitic monarchy remains and a reactionary police-military dictatorship, whose only support is foreign bayonets, rules the country by decree.

The Italian masses, correctly associate these oppressive conditions with the still unpublished armistice terms. Discontent and rebellion are mounting. The Bonomi government is beginning to feel the fierce draughts of mass anger.

IMPERIALIST AIMS

The hiding of the armistice terms was part of a detailed political strategy. After the overthrow of Mussolini and the Fascist regime, the imperialists and Italian capitalists felt the hot breath of approaching revolution. The workers and peasants, having overthrown the Fascists, showed no inclination to stop there. Every sign pointed to their determination to sweep away the monarchy and put an end to the system of capitalism which had spawned the Fascist regime and brought them the horrors and woes of the imperialist war.

The problem of Roosevelt-Churchill was to bridle the masses, hold them down through the AMG dictatorship, stabilize the tottering capitalist system, and thus, through a gradual restoration of "order," make possible the publication and full observance of the armistice terms in an atmosphere rendered calmer by the recession of the revolutionary wave. The imperialists were assured of the full cooperation of the Italian capitalist class, which is concerned only to preserve its property and privileges from the rising revolution.

But the strategy of the imperialists misfired. They set up the police-military dictatorship of Badoglio and backed it with their bayonets. They foisted the detested monarchy on the people. But they were unable to breathe a real breath of life into this reactionary puppet regime or gain for it even the smallest modicum of popular approval or support. Mass revolutionary sentiment grew and still grows.

When the masses were about to cast both Badoglio and the monarchy into the trash can, the traitorous Stalinists tried to rescue the reactionary regime. The cabinet was reshuffled to include representatives of the Stalinists and other "opposition" parties. A fake coalition government emerged, which, it was hoped, would meet with some measure of popular acceptance.

WHAT NEXT?

This trick did not work. The Badoglio government remained what it had been from the beginning—an isolated and discredited coterie possessing only such powers as the AMG chose to give it. Right after the fall of Rome it toppled. And now its successor, the Bonomi cabinet, is due to follow it into oblivion. To make way for what?

Without doubt the Allies are ready to pull another hoary and discredited Italian Quisling out of the museum and set up still another government to give cover to their reactionary designs. The octogenarian Vittorio Orlando has already been mentioned in this connection. Orlando is a capitalist politician who represented the Italian ruling class at the robber Versailles "peace" conference. In other respects, too, he is well qualified to do Allied bidding in Italy. He was an admirer of Mussolini and in 1924 ran for deputy in the Duce's Chamber of Fasces —on the Fascist ticket!

The Stalinists are ready to join in any new attempt to deceive and betray the Italian masses and to hold back the tide of socialist revolution which alone can truly liberate Italy. There are no limits to the infamy of these counter-revolutionary scoundrels. In Italy as here in the United States they have allied themselves with the blackest elements of capitalist reaction. Only last week two Stalinists, members of the Rome municipal council, went to the Vatican with the rest of the councillors to "pay their homage to the Pope."

The Pope is an avowed foe of socialism and the Roman Catholic Church is one of the main pillars of the system of capitalist exploitation and oppression. Trotsky once described the Vatican as "world headquarters of obscurantism and reaction." Today this sinister institution receives the homage of the Stalinists.

STALINIST INFAMY

The infamous role of Stalinism is starkly revealed in an article in the Daily Worker of July 13 by Joseph Starobin, who endorsed the still unpublished Italian armistice terms, with all their undoubted severity and oppressiveness, terming them "the price that the Italian people have to pay for 20 years of Italian fascism." This Stalinist scribbler insinuates that the Italian masses, who fought so heroically to prevent the triumph of fascism, are actually responsible for its ignoble reign and therefore deserve to be punished. This vile suggestion furnishes the ideological basis for endorsement of the armistice terms by the Stalinists.

It is a matter of historic record that it was the Italian capitalists who nourished Fascism and brought it to power. Yet now the Stalinists would punish the Italian workers and peasants for the crimes of the Italian capitalist gang. Thus they remain true to their role as flunkeys of the "democratic" imperialists who now seek to enslave Italy—the same imperialists who used to praise Mussolini and Fascism and only discovered their loathing of the Italian gangster regime when Mussolini joined with Hitler to attack them. It was none other than the "democratic" Churchill who, in 1924, said that he, too, would have been a Fascist had he been an Italian and that he would have followed Mussolini "to the end."

Starobin went on to say that "the way to the redemption of Italy, and the gradual easing of these armistice terms, lies first in accepting them and then in fighting together with the Allies for the defeat of Germany."

FIGHT OPPRESSORS

But the idea of accepting an onerous dictatorship (even though it is borne on "democratic" bayonets) in order to bring about its easement, will not appeal to the Italian masses, who learned under fascism that relief from oppression can be obtained only through struggle against the bearers of that oppression. In their fight for peace, bread and freedom, the workers and peasants are already beginning to recognize as their enemies the Stalinists and all others who preach the gospel of submission to the Anglo-American imperialists and their Italian capitalist allies.

When the Allied armies occupy northern Italy, where the great bulk of the Italian workers are currently battling against the Nazis, the present division between north and south will be dissolved. The revolting masses in the south will be heavily reinforced by the proletarians of the north. A new and more vigorous chapter in the Italian revolution will begin. Not submission, but intransigent struggle against all the oppressors and all their lackeys, including the Stalinist traitors, is the perspective of the coming months in Italy.

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By V. GREY

Scissorbill Sam, (the bosses' man), thinks that another reason the big boss is a great guy is because he invented this whole product from A to Z. Designed the machinery to be put in the shop, laid out the floor plan, engineered the assembly line, and carried on all his important conferences at the same time. (What a man!)

The boss would be great all right, if he had done, or could do, all that. There's over a thousand parts to this murder machine we're manufacturing. And there's a problem to every part. That's why there have been more than a dozen improvements in the last couple of months.

But if the boss has made these improvements or even figured he was going to, how come he made you sign a little form when you got hired that went like this: "I agree that any and all inventions I may make during my term of employment shall be the sole and exclusive property of the company."

YOU KNOW THE JOB

What's the boss afraid of? If he's a Thomas A. Edison, why should he worry about competition from your inventions? Can it be possible that an ordinary guy like you might think up an improvement that might not occur to the boss? It could be—and it is. There is a very simple reason for it, too. You work on machinery every day. The boss hardly ever sees it.

If something slows you up, the boss will swear up and down that you're gold-bricking on the job, drinking too much in your off-hours or something. Nine times out of ten, he wouldn't understand the difficulty even if you showed him. He doesn't know the job as well, and even the foreman doesn't know the job as well as you.

Same with the time-study man. He sees you make five motions where he figures you should make three. Ask him how, and he can't tell you. He just expects you to be double-jointed. But you, yourself, become very sensitive to steel, and you notice how some moving parts go less "naturally" than others.

You see where a corner could be cut off—a groove or a lever used to good advantage. You make a gadget for a turret lathe, design a simple new fixture for a drill operation that will eliminate cleaning out the shavings after every cut, thus increasing production 30 per cent, or rig up an automatic feed on a detail press that increases production 60 per cent.

BOSSES GET RICH

Yes, you and a lot of other fellows have thought up these things, some little, some big. Taken all together they are what makes the shop so productive and the bosses so rich.

And you remind the foreman of your particular contribution when you ask for a raise. "Oh yes, they're keeping that in mind in the office, Jim. I personally recommended you for an extra five cents." But this soft-soap doesn't mean a thing. You get your raise when they feel like giving it to you. Of course, if you have an extra good idea that more than doubles your production — who knows? — they might break their hearts and give you a war bond — and that's $18.75 in a lump.

Sometimes a fellow thinks of something special that greatly increases the company's profits, and makes all the big bosses richer than ever. A fellow like that should go places, shouldn't he? Thought of something the boss couldn't think of, didn't he?

But does he ever make money like the boss does? That's not even a good joke. The kind of money he'll get will be a raise of ten or fifteen dollars a week plus a "company" job. Sometimes they'll put him in the experimental department — give him a few extra tools to play around with. You never can tell, he might ring the bell again, and they'll come back from their afternoon golf to find they are billionaires!

COMPETITION

But due to the terrific rate of expansion and cutthroat competition of modern capitalist industry, production improvements often do not make big money at all. The other corporations are doing the same thing, and their improvements make them able to undersell this company. So one invention often just cancels out another one so far as profits are concerned. That's why the bosses hire many chemical and mechanical engineers to do nothing else but experiment and try to hit on new cheaper methods and thus keep up with the other corporations.

Then there are certain kinds of inventions the bosses don't want to touch with a ten-foot pole. What would the Rockefeller Standard Oil Co. think of a device to cut down gasoline consumption 50 per cent? General Electric has bought up and suppressed patents of a far longer burning light bulb than they now make. A revolutionary invention that changes production so much that billions of dollars worth of machinery would have to be scrapped — that's the kind of invention that none of the big bosses want — and they band together to kill it.

RAGS TO RICHES?

For these and other reasons, invention isn't what it used to be. You used to hear people tell how a poor boy could always invent something and become rich. You hear the same thing today — from children and screwballs. It was partially true once upon a time. But that was before the factory-monopolies dominated your life and all the world besides. All you needed was a few thousand to start your factory (the only trick was to get the few thousand). Now you need at least a few millions. So, of course, the boss has you licked before you start. That's why he can give you $18.75 for your invention and get away with it.

The men in the shop understand this more or less, too. What about yourself? You have had ideas. Why didn't you turn in the last idea you got? You never even bothered to draw a diagram. Why? Well, for one thing you hate to go running to the foreman and have him and an engineer come over to your machine while you explain it with the other fellows watching.

You don't even want to drop a slip in the suggestion box. The other guys would figure you for a jerk. Or else they'd think you were polishing apples. And you only get a couple of bucks anyway, so what's the use? **That's the attitude you have in industry today. That's the way you feel when you're working for these inflated parasites. This whole con game of the bosses wears you down and embitters you. At last you close your mind entirely to new ideas just as most of the other fellows do.**

The time is approaching however, when we working people will be forced to take over the shop and the whole works, and run it ourselves. The bosses, whose main inventions seem to be imperialist wars, unemployment, fascism and starvation, will have to take a back seat while the workers run things. At such a time your ideas will wake up again.

Under a workers' government, every increase in production will mean an increase of well-being and happiness for everyone. What someone else invents will directly benefit you, too. Your mind will open and see a dozen new possibilities in the shop that you never could see before. EVERYONE will be trying to make things easier and better, because it will be to their own interests to do so. They, too, will understand that a new invention won't enrich some plush-bottomed big shot and throw more people out of work after the war. They will see the way things are going, and they'll feel the same way you will.

A REAL INCENTIVE

Instead of people thinking you're a fool when you step up with a suggestion, they'll feel that you're a pretty swell guy, because you're doing THEM a favor as well as YOURSELF. You'll be appreciated and your advice will be asked about things.

In other words, Socialism will give you a real incentive to produce, to increase production and human happiness — an incentive that capitalism with all its crookedness not only cannot give, but inevitably destroys.

Case in Point

According to the N. Y. World-Telegram, July 13, a toolmaker at the Consolidated Vultee plant in San Diego has invented a new riveting assembly for airplane construction which is expected to save 25 percent in time and materials and to require less manpower than previous methods.

It is described as a special bucking bar setup that can be installed in a "jig" or frame so as to function automatically, or it can be wielded manually so as to increase the efficiency of the individual workman.

The inventor, Morris Brown, a 54-year old toolmaker, spent a year perfecting it, after he had witnessed the condition of a young employe who was unable to hold up his arm after a hard day's work bucking rivets.

According to the dispatch, Vultee plans to make the assembly available to other manufacturers. What compensation, if any, was received by the inventor, is not mentioned.

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Charles Jackson

The Chicago NAACP Conference

CHICAGO, July 17—"We want to start some action and we want to get some action," was the forthright statement of a brown worker after attending last week's conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This statement reflects the prevalent undercurrent among the rank and file members at the mass meetings and in the street crowds rehashing the particular subjects of discussion after each meeting.

Unfortunately, however, at the conclusion of the conference no organized plan for MASS ACTION was offered by the hand-picked Board of Directors or by the auspicious resolutions committee composed chiefly of preachers, doctors, and lawyers or their well-fed wives. Outside of further protest as expressed in resolutions condemning the well-known injustices against the brown people in the armed forces, in the courts, in housing, in the Southern voting booths and in colonial countries, and outside of creating more democracy in the organization by the addition of three elected members to the Board of Elections, there was little accomplished by this conference that will start spelling out in real life the word equality to the brown masses.

UNEMPLOYMENT

In the economic field, for example, Gloster Current, an alert young delegate from Detroit, pointed to the grave dangers of impending mass layoffs in industry which will, according to every rule of the game — including seniority — affect the brown workers most severely. He clearly pointed to the necessity of more close alliance by the NAACP with labor as against capital, for, as he said, "We will only get improved conditions for Negroes through the labor movement."

However, although the subject was "How will the Negro hold his job?", the final fatalistic conclusion was that ". . . with the inevitable layoffs—for most of us there will be no job to hold." **The only practical solution—the taking over of the factories by all the workers and the production of goods with reduced working hours on a planned basis for those in need, with the consequent avoidance of the "inevitable" (under capitalism) depression—was not mentioned in the speaker's formal talk.**

Even if Mr. Current had had the spunk, however, to write this obvious truth into his address, it would have been censored beforehand by Walter White, our globe-trotting executive secretary who castigated discrimination and segregation unmercifully, but who recently warned Negroes to beware of "radical" (anti-capitalist) movements. He did this while knowing full well that the only major country which does not have racial and religious hatreds is Soviet Russia, which was freed of oppression of minorities by the only successful anti-capitalist revolution up to now.

INSULT MASSES

Some of the preacher and school teacher elements among the delegates spent some time, as was expected, castigating the "socially undesirable" Negroes who are "holding the race back." Now that explains why this column is always repeating the fact that it is the workers rather than the "better class" Negroes who will bring equality to the masses. After members of an equally intelligent race are kept in fear and subjection and meet the insults and kicking around of second class citizenship each and every day, it is psychologically natural for them, on occasion, to be rude and discourteous and to wear a chip on their shoulder.

And where they are the most economically insecure of all the working people, how many of them can help being poorly clothed and poorly housed? It is not their fault but the fault of the economic system. But to these brown "400," to be militant or to be cheaply dressed is to be "socially undesirable." If the 500,000 members of this mass organization could have been in Chicago to hear those delegates talk like that, they would have thrown them out of that church in short order.

We have got to learn from these experiences if we are to accomplish anything in the future. The vast majority of these professionals are practically satisfied with conditions as they stand. They only take an active part in such organizations for the social prestige to be gained. They will never endanger their higher than average status to put up a real fight for full equality — therefore they are false leaders. When one speaker asked the workers to stand, only 14 out of 400 delegates stood, whereas the brown people are 90 percent working class. You can see that this was no economically representative group.

NEED NEW LEADERS

The kind of delegates the Negro masses must send to their conventions is the most "radical" (and rational) elements in the labor movement, be they white or brown. They have the only complete answer to how we will obtain equality. Furthermore, when it comes to a question of organized ACTION to protect our rights, they won't be looking out the window.

Unless some spade work is done in the next twelve months along this line by serious-minded Negroes throughout the country, we will wind up at the next NAACP convention emitting another mammoth belch while the brown workers both in and out of uniform continue to catch it in the rear.

(A second article on the NAACP convention will appear next week.)

Union Militants At Michigan CIO Convention Lead Fight To Rescind The No-Strike Pledge

(Continued from page 1)

Flint and Bert Boone, Chevrolet Local 659 Flint, outstanding leaders of the newly formed rank and file caucus, were not permitted to speak. But in the limited time at their disposal the delegates expressed the real sentiment of the ranks who had passed numerous resolutions for revoking the no-strike pledge.

"Here it comes!" was heard all over the hall as Glen Sigman of the Steelworkers, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, began to read the majority resolution to "reaffirm the no-strike pledge." This was the big moment for which the delegates were eagerly waiting. They had listened apathetically to the large number of guest speakers and now hoped to participate themselves in the most important issue facing this convention.

So shaky was the leadership that it was forced to qualify its position by calling "upon the National CIO to relieve us of this pledge at the earliest possible moment," and stating "that we condemn all those, whether inside or outside the labor movement, who promise to continue the no-strike pledge in time of peace." The latter clause was obviously an attack on Bridges and other Stalinists who are in favor of a perpetual no-strike pledge.

John Zupan, Ford Bomber Local 50 UAW, the only dissenter on the resolution committee of seven, introduced a minority report "for rescinding the no-strike pledge" and calling upon the "National CIO either to rescind the no-strike pledge or to conduct a national referendum among its membership to decide whether to reaffirm or rescind this pledge."

Arthur Hughes, Pres. of Dodge Local 140 UAW, first to speak for the minority resolution, showed the hypocrisy and fraud of the "equality of sacrifice program" whereby labor was induced to give up the right to strike. In answer to the cry of the top officialdom and the Stalinists that labor would lose public support if they revoked the pledge, Hughes recalled similar cries by the labor fakers during the organization drive of the CIO. **"Fear of public sentiment did not organize the workers in 1936 and 1937 and will not organize the workers now. Labor cannot stand the discharge of union militants today. Did the rank and file stand idly by in 1936 and 1937?"**

SOLDIER SUPPORT

"Scoffing at the charge that rescinding the no-strike pledge was a stab in the back of the boys in the fox-holes, Syver of G. M. Diesel Local 163 UAW, told the delegates: "We get our letters from the boys in service. They all say 'hold that line.' Why, management sends people home every day and more hours are lost in this way than we lose by strikes. As long as management holds the no-strike pledge over our heads it also holds it over the heads of the boys in the foxholes."

Jess Ferrazza, President of Briggs Local 212 UAW, echoed these sentiments with a plea to remain "loyal to the boys in the service. They want to come back to high wages, a high standard of living and adequate bargaining with management. Every one of them writes 'I want to come back to conditions just as I left them'." Ferrazza also pointed out how utterly impossible it is to negotiate with management since the strike weapon was abandoned. "You can't negotiate with the company. They only take it to the War Labor Board which is dominated by industry."

Grant, President of Ford Local 600 UAW, admitted that the no-strike pledge tied one of labor's hands but asserted that "if we developed the other hand we would not hear complaints about WLB." Grant was referring to the CIO Political Action Committee as the other hand and not to an independent labor party which he opposes. In this he was merely following the strategy of the bureaucrats to kill militant economic action by the promise of phony political action. **Grant also boasted more than 100 out** of a total of 150 Ford delegates were for retaining the no-strike pledge.

At this point Paul Silver, Pres. of Steel Products Local 351 UAW, told the convention that the minority resolution calling for a referendum vote of the membership would dispose of all claims once and for all as to how the ranks stand on this issue. "Do these people fear the vote of their membership?" he asked.

DEBATE CUT SHORT

After this short debate discussion was closed when Gibson violated his own ruling to recognize an equal number of minority speakers. The leading members of the rank and file caucus were not given the floor. Outraged by this bureaucratic procedure of the top leadership, the ranks gave vent to their resentment by staging a 15 minute demonstration, marching around the hall with their placards which demanded the revocation of the no-strike pledge. When order was restored more than a third of the delegates braved the ire of the bureaucrats and rose in favor of the minority resolution to rescind the no-strike pledge.

To a superficial observer who attended last year's convention in Detroit where it was agreed to junk the no-strike pledge under certain conditions, it might appear as if the workers suffered a severe setback at Grand Rapids this year. But this is only a surface indication. Even such labor skates as Victor Reuther openly spoke against the no-strike pledge last year but no one took them seriously. No one expected the decisions of last year's convention to be carried out and militant talk merely served the Reutherites to carry their slate in the elections of officers.

NEW GROUP

This year there was a solid phalanx arrayed against the rank and file delegates. Both the Reuther and the Addes-Stalinist caucuses were in favor of affirming the no-strike pledge. On the other hand, the opposition leaders were a serious group of men who could not easily be bought off with promises of soft posts. The supporters of the minority resolution definitively broke with the two power cliques and joined forces in a rank and file caucus whose meetings had the largest attendance of any caucus meetings at the convention.

Fully aware of the hard road ahead, and realizing from the start that they could not hope to obtain a majority at the convention, they organized a slate of six candidates for vice-president, and decided to plunk for their slate. Four of these candidates were also nominated by one or the other of the two power caucuses. At the final meeting of the rank-and-file caucus, steps were taken to assure a better organized and more aggressive struggle in the coming election of delegates to the UAW convention. There, this caucus will not face the handicap of large numbers of non-UAW locals which voted almost solidly for upholding the no-strike pledge.

Besides McGill and Boone, the leaders of the new rank and file caucus are Carter of AC Local 651 Flint, Donald Hackett of the Nash Local Lansing, Larry Yost, chairman of the Ford Aircraft Unit Local 600, and William Jenkins, deposed President of Chrysler Highland Park Local 490 UAW. In addition to the locals represented by these leaders the following UAW locals were among those voting in favor of rescinding the no-strike pledge: Fisher Body Local 581 Flint, Local 652 Lansing, Pontiac Motor Local 653 and from Detroit Briggs Local 212, Ford Local 50, Ford Local 400, Diesel Local 163, Chevrolet Gear and Axle Local 235, Motor Products Local 203, Dodge Truck Local 140, Michigan Steel and Tube Local 238, Fleetwood Local 15, and Local 49. The members of the rank and file caucus were confident that with an energetic campaign many other locals in Detroit and throughout the country would rally around them in their struggle to rescind the no-strike pledge and remove the bureaucrats who gave up labor's most important weapon.

BOSSES ACT

Barely had the convention placed itself on record in favor of affirming the no-strike pledge than the Ford management drew the appropriate conclusions. With the convention still in session Ford provoked a tie-up at the Ford Bomber Local by violating seniority rights at that plant. As Silver pointed out to the convention, all the resolutions passed were but empty words "now that we have given up the only weapon we had." Ford was fooled least of all by "empty words."

The hypocrisy of the bureaucrats in urging political action as the means of preserving and extending labor's rights became quite obvious when the political action resolution came up for discussion. Scholle had stated earlier that the "organized employers would rather have us argue about the no-strike pledge," implying that the convention should really spend its time discussing political action. This view was echoed by the other labor skates. But this important resolution was introduced for discussion on Friday afternoon at 5:22 PM, exactly eight minutes before the convention was to adjourn for the day. Only one speaker for the opposition was recognized before the question was called.

This resolution endorsed the National CIO policy on political action which excludes independent political action on the part of labor. The ranks, who at the last convention voted to launch an independent labor party, were eager to call their officials to account for their failure to carry out their mandate. Everyone including the capitalist press predicted a sharp fight on the part of the Michigan Commonwealth Federation leaders against this resolution.

But Hammond, the MCF Chairman, merely objected to one word in the resolution. He wanted the phrase "effective political action" changed to "independent political action." No resolution in opposition to the class collaboration policy of the CIO leadership was broached by the MCF head. The failure of the MCF leadership to carry the battle into the trade unions finally reached its logical conclusion when to the astonishment of the convention delegates MCF head Hammond agreed with the Stalinist Ganley, business agent of Local 155, that the CIO endorse the Democratic ticket in November. Hammond was merely concerned with independent political action after this election, making no attempt to get the convention on record in favor of MCF.

Yet despite this attitude on the part of the MCF head and despite the fact that no discussion was permitted on the part of the ranks, almost 50% of the convention voted in opposition to the resolution. Even after Gibson announced that it carried, the ranks showed their resentment by casting a similar vote against another resolution calling for a voluntary financial contribution of one dollar per member to the PAC, which Gibson also declared carried without daring to obtain a division.

When the bureaucrats tried to increase the union payment to the council from one to two cents, the ranks showed their lack of confidence in the state leadership by refusing to go along and when later the same day the labor skates harrangued the convention to get a half cent increase the ranks again overwhelmingly voted against the new proposal.

After an investigation had conclusively shown to the delegates that the Cody Hotel had discriminated against Negro unionists the convention overwhelmingly approved a recommendation placing this hotel on the unfair list and obtaining a warrant against the hotel manager for violation of a civil rights provision in the criminal code. Resolutions for greater protection for workers during reconversion, for a guaranteed annual wage, for more adequate Workmen's Compensation and social security laws, equal rights for women, and better child care were fully supported. Roosevelt and Wallace were endorsed.

John Gibson was reelected President of the State Council by acclamation.

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

Pete came to work drunk again last night, and the boss sent him home. We couldn't very well kick about it, because the man was in no condition to work. He might have gotten himself or somebody else burned up, might have fallen into a ladle, because he was so drunk he could hardly see. It must be hard on Pete's wife, these short paychecks and the amount of money that goes for whiskey out of what he does bring home.

But, all these moralists who talk about the curse of drink, what light have they shed on the problem? They say that the workingman gets drunk. Well, some do. They say that the worker must learn self-control and learn to seek after culture. They have been saying that ever since the first rebellious workers began to demand a few more morsels of cheap food for their gaunt bellies, a few more hours of rest for their weary bodies and for their hungry minds.

THE REASON WHY

Why do we get drunk sometimes? Why do some of us get drunk most of the time?

That isn't hard to answer. Pete, for instance, gets drunk because he has been dragging that bent, reluctant body of his around the furnaces in the heat of summer and the lacerating draughts of winter for years, far too many years. He gets tired and thirsty. He begins to feel miserable. He knows that he is going to keep on dragging his body around the furnaces until some day when his wife will call him in the morning, and he won't answer. He'll lie there, really at rest for the first... and last time.

Or else, maybe he'll end up in a sudden blast of flame and flying molten iron, in a quick burst of agony. That has happened before to men, and Pete has known some of them.

He and his wife live in a wretched shack, huddled in the shadow of the open hearth stacks and covered with the flue dust of the blast furnaces. His furniture is shabby and broken down. The rugs are threadbare. Maybe he's used to this. Maybe he doesn't care. Or, possibly, he doesn't think about the squalor of his "home" when he sprawls over a saloon table, humming a polka that he learned long ago in his homeland.

I don't know how Pete manages to live between paydays, although long years of poverty and unemployment must have fitted him for it. But I do know that when Pete is drunk, **he's a millionaire. Oh, I don't mean he gets the idea that he has all sorts of money, or that he tries to give orders and strut like a movie clown.**

No, Pete gets quietly contented, The thousand worries that have twisted his face fall away from him. The furnace loses its heat and then is forgotten entirely. Life gradually ceases to become something that must be endured and brightens into something that may be lived.

Not all workers get drunk; in fact most of them don't make a practice of it in spite of what the middle-class bluenoses may think. But the question is not, "Why do some workers get drunk?" It is, "Why don't more workers get drunk?," and that might be a bit hard for some people to answer.

I believe the reason is that the working class is a pretty tough group, that can stand a lot of hell before cracking. Certainly the hellish system that we live under has conditioned us to be tough...and that is an optimistic thought, because we'll surely have a chance to use that toughness to good advantage before very long.

U. S. DOMINATION IS SEEN BY WALLACE

(Continued from page 1)

2,000,000 square miles of territory and vast wealth, both of natural resources and human labor power, have long whetted the appetites of the Wall Street capitalists. He advocated a "vigorous two-way trade" between America and China. American capitalists would export manufactured products to China, also machinery and equipment for the development of the country. They would also send out technicians to assist in the carrying through of industrial and public works projects to be financed by American loans. China, in return, would export to America her minerals and other raw materials.

So that his listeners should not get the idea that this is nothing but a new phase of the old familiar program of imperialist expansion, the greedy capitalist search for markets, raw materials, investment opportunities, profits, a plan to exploit China's poverty-striken millions, Wallace made a point of saying that nothing of the sort is intended.

"Here," he declaimed, "are vast resources of minerals and manpower to be developed by democratic, peaceful methods — the methods not of exploitation, but, on the contrary, the more profitable method of creating higher living standards for hundreds of millions of people." And, he added, "I have faith that American economic leadership will confer on the Pacific region a great material benefit and on the world a great blessing."

WALL STREET PLANS

Mr. Wallace's faith is not very firmly grounded in fact or experience. The people of Puerto Rico, for example, have experienced neither great nor small "material benefit" from the activities of the American imperialists. In fact, they have been reduced to a terrible state of beggary by the Wall Street plutocrats who dominate and exploit the little Caribbean island.

So it will be — as it has been — in the case of China. The Wall Street moneybags will not go into that country in order to create higher living standards for the Chinese masses, as Wallace would have us believe, but to rob the country of its riches and exploit its population.

The capitalists themselves, in occasional bursts of frankness, scoff at any suggestion that they are animated by motives of benevolence in their plans for world expansion. Not so very long ago one of Wall Street's leading spokesmen, replying to Wallace's earlier speeches on the "idealism" of American imperialism and its war aims, hotly denied any intention of providing "a bottle of milk for every Hottentot baby or a TVA on the Danube."

In his latest speech, Wallace did not, of course, undertake to explain how the ostensibly benevolent purposes which he has in view as regards China can be realized as long as the profit-hungry pirates of Wall Street remain in control of America's destinies. The whole thing is pious hypocrisy. Only a socialist America can help China's millions to free themselves from the servitude of poverty and backwardness by eliminating the profit motive and thereby having a genuine interest in raising the whole world to the highest levels of production and culture.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

JULY 21, 1934

MINNEAPOLIS — Governor Olsen of Minnesota, Farmer-Laborite and "friend of the workers," threatened martial law as Minneapolis police launched a reign of terror against pickets of the striking General Drivers Local 574. On July 20, police in two sections of the city simultaneously opened attacks on the workers, wounding 33. Within a few minutes of the shooting, National Guardsmen armed with machine guns arrived to "clear the areas," proving a pre-arranged plot.

"The militant answer of the labor movement of Minneapolis came immediately," **The Militant** reported. **"Union-driven taxicabs, ice, beer and gasoline trucks which had so far continued to operate by arrangement with the union, immediately went on strike. . . The district surrounding strike headquarters was immediately cleared of police by the strikers (who) took over directing traffic. Strikers picked up their wounded and took them to the hospital set up in strike headquarters. . . A gigantic mass meeting of all trade unions, to back up the strikers," was called.**

"Farmers are backing the strikers 100 percent," said the article. By agreement between the union and the Farm Holiday Association, the union permitted delivery of produce directly to consumers and small stores, while farmers picketed country roads against commercial trucks and supplied food to the strikers. The Minneapolis Central Council of Workers (unemployed) voted support of the strike.

SAN FRANCISCO — "Never before have labor fakers so clearly 'headed a strike in order to behead it,'" said The Militant in exposing official betrayal of the San Francisco general strike. "After two days during which the strike was completely victorious, Vandeleur (president of the San Francisco Federation of Labor) and his gang suddenly sprang a resolution for arbitration" before the strike committee. On a hand vote, disputed by militant elements of the committee, Vandeleur called the resolution "accepted."

Within a few hours the National Longshoremen's Board, representing only one of eleven striking waterfront unions, "issued a 7 point program for arbitration," in direct contradiction to the repeated demands of the membership for continued solidarity. The resolution provided for "immediate return to work" — after which employers could hold separate elections "to determine bargaining agents."

Simultaneously with Vandeleur's action, William Green denounced the general strike, saying "the AFL neither ordered the strike nor endorsed it," and Joseph P. Ryan, International President of the Longshoremen's Union, fought against a threatened sympathy strike on the New York waterfront.

Pioneer Paragraphs

THE MAIN FIGHTING SLOGAN FOR THE EUROPEAN WORKERS

The resistance of the oppressed and doubly exploited peoples of Europe prevents any stabilization of Hitler's regime, leaving aside the interference of the imperialist rivals. The resistance of the oppressed peoples of Europe to Hitler can be the starting point for the revolutionary conflagration that will dispose of Hitler in passing and proceed to the permanent solution of the European problem by its socialist reorganization. The movement against national oppression can be, and may very likely be, the starting point of the inevitable European socialist revolution. **But that is only on one condition; that the workers' vanguard sticks to its own program and does not adapt itself to the program of bourgeois nationalism.**

Our resolution speaks very clearly and unambiguously on this point. We say the program of bourgeois nationalism is only another Versailles. They want only to turn Hitler's "new order" upside down, dismember Germany and return to the European madhouse of artificially divided states on a capitalist basis. That is the very cause of the war. The outlived national boundaries of old Europe have become insuperable barriers against the development of the productive forces. The system of private property combined with the system of national borders of the states, with their standing armies, and separate monetary systems and tariffs, strangled the economic development of Europe and plunged it for the second time in a quarter of a century into the maelstrom of destructive war.

It is sheer insanity to contemplate a return to this starting point. **We say that under no circumstances can any section of the Fourth International adapt itself to these blind and mad people who want to go back to Versailles, who propose to solve the problem of Europe by restoring the very conditions which precipitated Europe into this war. Not backward, but forward! — that is the slogan Europe needs. Forward to the socialist reorganization of Europe. The leading and guiding slogan of that fight is, and can be only, "The Socialist United States of Europe."**

(From "Workers and the Second World War," by James P. Cannon, page 14. Pioneer Publishers, 1942, 48 pp., 10c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

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THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

VOL. VIII—No. 30 Saturday, July 22, 1944

Published Weekly by

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547
FARRELL DOBBS, Editor

THE MILITANT follows the policy of permitting its contributors to present their own views in signed articles. These views therefore do not necessarily represent the policies of THE MILITANT which are expressed in its editorials.

Subscriptions: $2.00 per year; $1.00 for 6 months. Foreign: $3.00 per year, $1.50 for 6 months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

No-Strike Pledge

In a recent radio broadcast, Joseph Curran, head of the National Maritime Union, CIO, proclaimed that: "Strikes and lockouts are against the best interests of industry and the Nation," and should be outlawed not only for "the duration" but also for the "post-war period." Curran and Bridges, two prominent Stalinist union officials, agree — and publicly proclaim—that the no-strike pledge be retained as a permanent halter on the labor movement. These revolting lackeys, attempting to cover up their strikebreaking role, identify the interests of the working class with those of "industry and the Nation." Leon Trotsky long ago exposed such demagogues by pointing out: "Whenever reaction demands that the interests of 'the nation' be placed before class interests, we, Marxists, take pains to explain that under the guise of 'the whole', the reaction puts through the interests of the exploiting class."

Having become the most reactionary tendency within the labor movement, the Stalinists openly espouse the interests of the exploiting class, under the guise of "National Unity." They have set out to convince America's Sixty Families, the real rulers of "the Nation," that they are the most dependable flunkeys of all, who can be counted on to serve the "best interests of industry," that is, of Wall Street. So arrogant have they become under cover of the reaction attendant on the war, that they haven't hesitated in coming into conflict with the conservative top leadership of the CIO. It is obvious that the Stalinists are bidding for support of the employers and their government against all those who oppose, in any degree, the permanent surrender of labor's rights and labor's independence.

The Stalinists have set the pace in advocating labor's "unconditional surrender" to the employers. So far and so fast have they travelled along this road that they have incurred the active displeasure of some of the top union bureaucrats and the open hostility of the secondary leadership. These latter, while they uphold the unconditional no-strike pledge "for the duration" — a period which has already lasted for over two and a half years and which no one yet has offered to define — are sharply critical of the Stalinist policy of extending the pledge indefinitely. Such criticism is extremely helpful to the bureaucrats because it serves to distract attention from their own bankrupt policy in advocating adherence to the no-strike pledge until "after the war." This policy is weakening and undermining the fighting ability of the unions.

R. J. Thomas, for example, condemns the Curran-Bridges-Stalinist proposal while at the same time engaging in bureaucratic expulsions of militants, (who resist the provocation of the corporations), for violating the unconditional no-strike pledge. Thomas and his cohorts argue that labor should retain its most effective weapon for use "after the war" in defense of the unions against attack by the corporations. Until that time, of course, labor's sword must be kept in its scabbard; labor's hands must be tied securely; labor's head must be resigned to the noose of the unconditional no-strike pledge. But the workers, grown restive under their bonds, must be assured — "after the war," things will be different. "We will then — of course, of course! — reclaim our right to the use of the strike weapon."

The corporations however are not waiting until "after the war" to launch their attack upon the unions! The political deputies of Wall Street who rule the roost in City, State and Nation are not waiting. The whole crew considers the unions, disarmed by the no-strike pledge, as fair game to be hounded out of existence. The enemies of labor have grasped the opportunity provided by the war to seize upon every pretext to cripple the organizations and institutions of the working class.

Under the circumstances, it would be suicidal for labor to remain tied to a policy of "non-resistance" to employer and government provocation by continued adherence to the no-strike pledge until "after the war." While the overwhelming majority of the labor movement can see through the betrayal of the Stalinist permanent no-strike policy, and has rejected and condemned such proposals, only the more progressive and advanced sections have clearly seen the reactionary implications of the "wartime" no-strike pledge. Fearing these militants as the most uncompromising defenders of labor's rights, the Stalinists direct the filthiest slander and lynch incitation campaigns against them.

At the recent convention of the Michigan CIO the "no-strike pledge" was one of the main issues. The militants who fought for its revocation numbered over one-third of the delegates, representing in the main progressive locals of the UAW-CIO. The workers are learning, through hard experience, that the no-strike pledge is a weapon of reaction. What is equally important, they are learning that labor cannot wait "until after the war" to regain its most effective weapon without risking the very existence of their unions.

The lines are drawn, the issues are joined. Militant unionists are duty-bound to take their place on the side of those who fight TODAY for the immediate and unconditional revocation of the union-busting "no-strike" pledge.

Civil Liberties

Commenting last week on the annual report of the American Civil Liberties Union, the *New York Times* drew the general conclusion that civil liberties, as guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, are "standing up fairly well under the hammerings of war." The conclusion drawn by the *Times* accords with that of the ACLU itself, for the report finds that "stronger foundations have been put under those rights." But the facts which the report records furnish no support for this contention. Just the contrary.

The section of the ACLU report, upon which the editorial in *The Times* fails to comment, gives prominence, and rightly so, to the Minneapolis Labor Case in which 18 leaders of the CIO Truck-drivers and members of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyists) were railroaded to prison under the infamous Smith "Gag" Law for mere expression of opinion. The ACLU report "deplores" the refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court in three times refusing to review the case which involved a test of the constitutionality of the Smith Act. This refusal of the Supreme Court, which amounts to validating an Act which competent legal opinion declares in gross violation of the Bill of Rights, is the worst blow struck in years against labor's rights and civil liberties in this country.

On the credit side of the fight to maintain civil liberties the ACLU lists the Supreme Court affirmation of the right of Negroes to vote in the "lily-white" Democratic primaries in the South. Yet this "right" has been openly flouted by the southern bourbons with impunity, even AFTER the Supreme Court ruling. The same Supreme Court which made this ruling revealed its true character when it refused to act in the Winfred Lynn case involving discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces—a case involving violation of the Selective Service Act provisions explicitly forbidding discrimination.

By dismissing and belittling the most burning issues of civil liberties, the *Times* deliberately whitewashes the reactionary role of the Roosevelt administration in the field of civil rights. It was Roosevelt himself, acting through Attorney General Biddle, who instituted the prosecution of the Trotskyists. It is Roosevelt's own party which bars Negroes from voting and not once during his 12 years in office has Roosevelt ever raised his voice against this denial of constitutional rights.

What is involved here is not just a series of isolated symptoms, as the *Times* would have its readers believe, but a calculated policy of the party in power and its backers, the capitalist class.

Utilizing the agencies of the government, Big Business is engaged in a permanent conspiracy to deprive the people of their cherished freedoms as part of its campaign to undermine and destroy the labor movement. That is why organized labor must unite against every assault upon civil liberties and not permit itself to be lulled to sleep by false assurances.

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. *Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.*

On India

Editor:

John Stevenson's eye-witness account of British rule in India, published in a recent Militant, was officially confirmed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U. S. Department of Labor. My local union subscribes to the "Monthly Labor Review" published by the Bureau and in the June 1944 issue there is an article entitled "Measures to Improve Labor Conditions in India." Incidentally, this magazine contains very valuable labor information and is well worth the $3.50 yearly subscription to an active local union.

The article quotes from a wage study made by Professor Mukerju of the University of Lucknow. He says that 3,400 calories is the minimum necessary intake of food for adult industrial workers in India. At pre-war prices, this amount of food, with minimum clothing, fuel, light, etc., would cost 30 rupees per month per family—**at the pre-war level of prices.** Then he admits that in the big Tata plants, 20 percent of the workers receive less than 30 rupees per month. Imagine how conditions are now since the 400 percent inflation reported by Stevenson. The article goes on to tell of wages for coal miners. At the beginning of the war, wages in the Ramganj and Tharia districts, which account for 80 percent of India's coal output, were 12 rupees per month, that is to say, less than ½ the necessary minimum wage. Since the beginning of the war, two cost-of-living increases raised coal miners' wages to 14 rupees per month! These simple figures tell why Professor Mukerju concluded that a national minimum wage in India would now be "impractical." **They also officially confirm John Stevenson's report of starvation and misery.**

F. G.
Winnetka, Ill.

English Trotskyists

Editor:

I wish to thank you for the copies of **The Militant** and **Fourth International** which you have dispatched regularly to me since I became interested in the Minneapolis Trial.

Incidentally, some time after I left the Young Communist League I became a member of the Trotskyist organization, and today two militants of the group, Ann Keen and Heaton Lee, together with our secretary (Jock Haston) and Roy Tearse, are awaiting trial, falsely accused of conspiring to further a strike, an offense under the Trades Disputes Act.

I have visited our comrades detained in Durham prison and they are in very good spirits; indeed, an inspiration to us all.

Remembering your impressive Minneapolis Trial, we are determined that our defense and accusation against the ruling class shall be as good as yours.

E. S.
England

Allied Rule in Italy

Editor:

For those so naive as to believe that the objective of the present war is to bring the "Four Freedoms" to the four corners of the earth (particularly "Freedom from Want") an AP dispatch of July 5 must have brought sharp disillusionment.

"General Alexander Cuts Italian Wage Scale," reads the headline, with the still more illuminating subhead: "Allies Now Pay Less Than Germans Did for Same Work." In the text of the article we learn that the "Germans paid the scale set by the Fascists last November." Such scales set by the slave-driving Fascists were, however, considered too "liberal" by the crusading "liberators" of the Allied forces and were promptly reduced.

What are these scales? "Truck drivers who received 135 lire from them (the Fascists) are now getting 90 lire from the Allies. Laborers who got 77½ lire are now getting 65." The paragraph ends with the following highly significant sentence: "The official exchange rate is 100 lire to the dollar." Hence wages paid by the Allies range from 90 cents to 65 cents per day. (How many hours a day is not revealed.)

Those who may think that there is a difference between real and monetary wages paid in Italy as compared to the United States will be perfectly correct. The robber prices paid by the American workers are but a drop in the bucket, for Italian workers under the same benevolent Allied rulers as the exploited workers of America and Britain, pay from 10 to 100 times more for the same commodities as American workers pay.

For a pound of meat an Italian laborer would be compelled to work 2-1/3 days (150 lire); for a loaf of white bread 1 day or more (50 to 75 lire); for a pound of spinach or any greens about the same; for a pound of beans ½ to 2/3 of a day (30 to 40 lire); for a pound of coffee 8 days (500 lire); for a suit of clothes 80 days (5,000 lire); for a shirt 10 to 15 days (700 to 1,000 lire).

An order to increase the wages (back to the scales set by the Fascists, we presume) made by General H. H. Johnson, Military Governor of Rome, was rescinded by General Sir Harold Alexander, Allied Commander in Italy. The "reasons" given were—well, what do you think—the same ones given to the workers on the home front: It would cause inflation!

G. R.
St. Louis

Negro Soldier Murdered

Editor:

A few days ago, a Negro soldier, Pvt. Booker T. Specely of Camp Butner, was shot to death by a bus driver in Durham, North Carolina. A bus driver whom I know, had told me three days before the murder, that all the bus drivers of the Duke Power Company had been armed to enforce "States Rights."

The report in the local newspaper on the day after the shooting stated that the Negro soldier "got on a bus with a Negro woman in the Hayti section, and when the bus reached Main Street, the driver ordered the Negro to sit in the back of the conveyance. The driver claimed that the Negro . . . began an argument about the driver being a 4-F and not fit for military service."

A few blocks further on, "the Negro moved nearer the front of the bus (obviously, therefore, he had moved to the rear when ordered to do so), and when the driver again told him to move to the rear, he started a new argument directing some of his remarks to two white soldiers who were passengers."

When the Negro reached his destination he got off the bus from the rear entrance, and "yelled that he was 'going to get the driver who is no better to stop bullets than I am'."

The driver declared that when the soldier called him off the bus and advanced towards him with his hand in his right pocket, he (the driver) shot the Negro twice. The soldier died shortly afterwards at Duke Hospital.

The newspaper report concludes by saying that the driver "was released under bond of $2,500, signed by R. L. Lindsey, an official of the company. Police . . . were continuing the investigation of the case."

I am sure that nothing will happen to the driver, as JUSTICE in the South is, as you know, only for white people, and only some of them at that.

I look forward to my copy of **The Militant**, to offset the reactionary, biased opinions that I read in the papers here and hear my Southern friends express.

P. L.
Durham, N. C.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

GERMANY

Reports of strikes and a rapidly deteriorating food situation in Nazi-ridden Germany have been disseminated by the trade union division of the Latin American Free Germany Committee in Mexico City, according to Allied Labor News.

The strikes were said to have occurred on the eve of the Allied landings in Normandy. Some 30,000 workers downed tools in the Schwarzkopf factories in Wildau, a Berlin suburb and walkouts then occurred in other unidentified plants. The strikes lasted 10 days and were accompanied by peace demonstrations in which seven workers were shot by the police.

A food crisis reminiscent of early 1918, just prior to the collapse of the Kaiser's war machine, is fast approaching, according to the Free Germany Committee, which cites the following facts: The main meat product on the German market "is a sausage made of blood and potatoes, carrying a blue stamp warning that it must be eaten within 24 hours or spoil. In the factories, workers steal axle grease and other oils for frying and eating purposes at home. Factory managers, as a counter measure, order poison mixed with all lubricants, causing numerous deaths."

Almost all bread now sold in Germany, the Committee states, is mixed with potato and turnip flour, with a sprinkling of an ersatz flour made of wood, which is also responsible for many deaths.

The Committee quotes from a "Diary of a German Woman" published in the Swiss newspaper **St. Galler Tageblatt**, wherein it is stated that "the German housewife is forced to devote most of her time to the hunt for food. Often stocks are exhausted before one reaches the end of the line. There is no gas for cooking except for a few hours a day. Often it is a question of choosing between food and much-needed clothing, for the same ration card is used to purchase eggs and clothing. A woman is entitled to but one pair of shoes a year. We can't even mend our old things as there isn't any thread. We haven't seen any steel needles for ever so long."

ENGLAND

Labor Party members of parliament, His Majesty's most loyal opposition, last week gave a demonstration of what they consider a "fight" against the British capitalist class and its Tory government. A vote was being taken on the second reading (equivalent to passage) of a bill to provide for restoration of areas blitzed by Nazi bombs. As was to be expected, the measure gives first consideration to the interests of property owners. Labor M.P.'s assailed the plan on the principal ground that this concern for property rights and interests made effective planning impossible — which, of course, is true.

Then the vote was called. Ernest Bevin, Herbert Morrison and other "Labor" ministers followed Churchill and the Tories into the voting lobbies to record their votes for the bill. The rest of the "Labor" M. P.'s sat tight on their soft parliamentary cushions and voted neither "aye" nor "nay."

Explanation? The British Labor Party belongs to the Tory coalition government under Churchill's premiership, and the Labor M. P.'s, while occasionally offering a verbal opposition to **the government in order to placate the workers whose interests they are supposed to represent, will not risk causing a cabinet crisis by voting against the government. Their verbal opposition is therefore meaningless.**

The position of these "Labor" parliamentarians is becoming more and more difficult. The British workers are demanding an end of the coalition in order to clear the road for a real fight against the capitalist class and the Tories, but their "leaders" are scared to death of such a fight and impotent to lead it.

GREECE

The deep-going and widespread character of the opposition of the Greek masses to the reactionary monarchy and its government-in-exile is revealed in reports of the recent mutiny in the Greek armed forces.

When the Greek shadow government in Cairo ordered the arrest of a mutinous brigade near Alexandria, states an Algiers dispatch, "not a single Greek soldier was ready to carry out the order." Furthermore, British soldiers also refused to do the dirty work and Churchill, staunchest backer of the Greek monarchy, had recourse to colored troops.

After the mutiny had been suppressed, four Greek naval officers were court-martialed at Chatham Barracks, London, on charges of insulting the Greek king and the Greek navy. One of the officers, a lieutenant, was alleged to have hung in his quarters a photograph of the King reviewing naval crews at Chatham on Greek independence day, March 25. Across it he had written, "Traitors and mercenaries." He was sentenced to two and a half years' imprisonment.

The Standard Oil-Nazi Patents Cartel Deals

Two years ago Standard Oil of New Jersey paid a $50,000 fine in a government anti-trust suit which the company did not contest. Standard was charged with withholding valuable patents from government use and acting to maintain a joint monopoly on synthetic gasoline, high-octane aviation fuel, buna rubber and other war-vital products in accordance with cartel agreements with the Nazi I. G. Farben chemical trust.

Last May 24, the Alien Property Custodian finally ordered Standard to surrender three of its subsidiary corporations which the government claimed were holding companies for patents controlled jointly by Standard and I. G. Farben. Last week Standard filed suit in the Federal District Court in New York for the return of these patents, claiming it had bought them outright 15 years ago.

Although Standard officials disclaim any cartel agreement with I. G. Farben, here are the actual terms of the cartel arrangement, signed in 1929, which was temporarily suspended only after the war began:

"Whereas the (Standard Oil) Co. recognizes the preferred position of I. G. in the industries known as chemical and I. G. recognizes the preferred position of the company in the industries known as oil and natural gas; and

"Whereas neither party has any plan or policy of so far expanding its existing business in the direction of other party's industry as to become a serious competitor of that party's industry; now therefore. . .

"If the company shall desire to initiate anywhere in the world a new chemical development not closely related to its then business, it will offer I. G. control of that enterprise (including the patent rights thereto). . .

"If I. G. shall desire to initiate outside of Germany a new chemical development which cannot be advantageously carried on except as a department of an oil or natural gas business, it will offer control thereof (including patent rights thereto) to the company. . ."

Draftee Health Records Reveal Depression Toll

The price in ill-health, physical defects and mental breakdown which the "flower of American manhood" —the men of draft age—are paying for the 10 pre-war years of capitalist economic depression was revealed last week before the Senate Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education by a group of leading Army and Navy doctors.

Citing the evidence of draft and military records, Surgeon General Ross A. McIntire of the Navy, Deputy Surgeon General George F. Lull of the Army, Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey and Col. Leonard G. Rowntree of Selective Service and Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, among others, testified to what was termed an "appalling" health situation in this richest country on earth.

Over one-third of all selective service registrants called up for examination—some 4,100,000—have been rejected for reasons of physical or mental unfitness below the considerably reduced minimum standards of the armed forces. Actually, eight out of every ten draft registrants were found to have at least one physical defect. This, said Col. Rowntree, "is even more startling than the draft rejection rate. We can't laugh off the fact that only two out of every 10 men examined were free from defects."

The same official showed that the rejection rate was just as high for rural as urban areas, and that the determining factor for health standards was low income. **Those who came from areas where living standards were higher had the lowest rates of rejections. The highest rejection rates were in the Southern states where the lowest incomes and poorest medical and health facilities prevail.**

Most of those rejected had remediable defects, which were neglected due to lack of money and medical facilities.

Wall Street Banks Make Record-Breaking Profits

According to the quarterly and semi-annual reports of the leading Wall Street banks, which have been sprouting forth in the financial pages of the press during the past two weeks, there has been no freezing of bank profits.

As the July 4 N. Y. Times commented in citing the various bank statements: ". . .leading Wall Street banks as of June 30 generally showed substantial gains in deposits and total resources for the quarter. The same was true of holdings of United States Government securities. In most instances the figures represented new highs for the respective institutions." To put it mildly!

Rockefeller's National City Bank, for instance, reports a "record high" in total resources of $4,410,418,160 on June 30 as compared with $4,168,876,487 on March 31. The bank's surplus was increased $7,500,000 to a total of $117,500,000; its undivided profits rose to $27,956,460 from $25,567,151; its net operating "earnings" were $7,880,609, after taxes and "depreciation", with an additional take of $5,762,846 from sales of securities. Other items of "recoveries" and profits were "transfered to reserves."

Another multi-billion dollar octopus of finance capital, the Guaranty Trust Company, reported total resources of $3,601,236,269—"highest in the bank's history"—compared with $2,914,354,698 at the end of March. It likewise noted a rise in undivided profits from $34,264,976 to $36,054,427. Other banks in the half-billion to the two billion rank show similar gains.

These huge aggregates of finance capital, whose tentacles are wrapped around most of the productive resources of America, are sucking more and more blood-soaked billions from the imperialist war.

FREE THE 18!